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ABSTRACT

Communication cannot and should not be studied as the simple, isolated phenomenon known as language, because language occurs in a cultural context and its messages are shaped by nonverbal elements. The basic structure of total communication includes language, paralanguage (vocal-nonverbal communication), and kinesics (communication through gestures, manners, and postures). Other factors that affect total communication and that should be studied are proxemics and chronemics (space and time as communication). The theory and methodology of total communication's nonverbal elements can be applied to written as well as spoken activities; one such application is the study of nonverbal communication in narrative literature. (Experiences and field-research projects that reflect nonverbal communication theory and methodology are suggested.) (RL)

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Theory and Methodology of Nonverbal Communication

Fernando Poyatos

University of New Brunswick

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To the memory of
my father (1902-1976)

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PREFACE

This book--for which finding an original title was not easy, amidst the proliferation of volumes related to the subject--is an attempt to provide a personal integrative approach to a field which is generating an ever-growing interest at all levels of the academic world; a field originated about two decades ago, mainly within social psychology and anthropology, often in their relations to linguistics: Nonverbal Communication, that is, people's expressive activities beyond words.

Now, courses on nonverbal communication are being offered at more and more universities (often as part of programs in Linguistics, Communications, etc.), although the more traditional ones still resist the enormous interdisciplinary appeal of the subject, an attitude detrimental to the students' intellectual development. I will mention just a few of the organized activities related to nonverbal communication.

After the 1962 pioneer interdisciplinary conference on semiotics (centered mainly around paralinguistics and kinesics), organized by Thomas Sebeok at Indiana University, the Wenner-Gren Foundation sponsored a conference on Interactive Ethology (Amsterdam, 1970) and another one on Language and Medicine (New York, 1970). The last International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (Chicago, 1973) devoted a whole session to nonverbal communication, while others included and solicited papers on various aspects of it, and two pre-congress conferences (one held at the Psychology Department of the University of Chicago, the other organized by the School of Architecture and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) gathered an excitingly interdisciplinary group of psychiatrists and psychologists, anthropologists and ethnologists,

sociologists and social psychologists, architect-planners, and linguists. In 1973 the Northeast Modern Language Association asked me to organize a new session on paralinguistics, and in 1975 I have organized a linguistics session dealing with nonverbal communication for the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. I also tried to sensitize people to the interdisciplinary possibilities of nonverbal communication studies at a number of other national and international meetings of Hispanists, as well as within the International Communication Association (Chicago, 1975). At the first congress of the International Association of Semiotic Studies (Milano, 1974) we conducted a session on nonverbal communication. The interest in the field is also spreading throughout the European universities and research centers, from Tartu University (Psychology) to the University of Nancy (language-teaching research center), Oxford University (Psychology) and others, and Adam Kendon's research in interaction is currently conducted at the Australian National University (Anthropology). I dealt with the mechanism of interaction at the communication theory session of the last International Congress of Applied Linguistics (Stuttgart, 1975), and I have introduced the ideas contained in Chapter 7 at various meetings on semiotics and literature. On the other hand, research papers on nonverbal communication are being published by established periodicals in psychiatry, psychology, the social sciences and linguistics, as well as in the journals of the International Association of Semiotic Studies (Semiotica, 1969-) and the International Communication Association (The Journal of Communication, whose December 1972 issue was entirely devoted to NVC). At a journalistic level, The New York Times Magazine (May 31, 1970) carried a well-informed article on current nonverbal communication research. But one has to read only the typed newsletter "Nonverbal Components of Communication: Paralanguage, Kinesics, Proxemics," so generously prepared and mailed by Mary R.

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Key (Paralanguage and Kinesics, Male/Female Language, both by Scarecrow Press, 1975) to really appreciate the activity generated in the five continents by the multidisciplinary new perspectives offered by nonverbal communication research.

And yet, in spite of this multi- and interdisciplinary development and in spite of the exactness achieved in many instances, nonverbal communication studies are still badly in need, in my opinion, of an integrative approach to all that is nonverbal, as well as of much preliminary theory and methodology. For this reason, I am attempting to show, or suggest--mainly through my own work, unless otherwise specified--the intimate interrelationship of verbal and nonverbal ways of communicating, and to elicit research on how, when, and why we use them. I have tried to cover in a condensed manner the different aspects of nonverbal communication which I feel I can contribute to the field, showing the linguistically-oriented readers that one cannot probe into the linguistic structures without trying to relate them to the structuration and patterning that lies beyond words and their basic suprasegmental elements, and that it is quite unrealistic to try to isolate language in its interactive context as an autonomous system, which it is not.

In his analysis of all the communicative behaviors, one should go, whatever his discipline, beyond what is said, trying to discover the rich mechanism of interaction, from words and vocally produced sounds and voice modifications, through gestures, manners, and postures, to our use of space and our conceptualization and handling of time; which includes--as a preview look of the chart in Fig. 1 reveals--a number of neglected but highly communicative body activities developed, in varying degrees, in different interactive situations, from a psychiatric interview or an unconscious use of space or objects to a culture-bound or inherited posture or an uncontrollable blush, and from the batting of an eyelid to the intense multi-channel involvement of love-making.

I hope that in its seven chapters, as well as in the list of Experiences and Field-Work Project that follows, the readers will find not only an incentive introduction to human communication as it actually takes place in interaction but a great number of suggestions for further research and for branching out into some fascinating applications, such as the approach to narrative literature and its creative process, offered at the end.

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CHAPTER 1

CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

Since this is a book about communication from the point of view of the nonverbal contextual elements accompanying one's native language, I would like to elaborate somewhat--in a basic chapter that I hope the reader will not skip--on the notion of culture, which provides and shapes many of those elements, and briefly indicate: what culture is made up of; the problems of intercultural communication and acculturation, and the need to achieve "cultural fluency"; a real-life case of intercultural communication without fluency, and some principles involved; the behaviors which typify a culture's organic and dynamic existence, and how they develop and undergo changes; and, finally, the way we should approach those behaviors, that is, a culture, for systematic field work.

1.1 What is culture?

Defining culture was always an uncertain matter, specially when the definitions came from different disciplines dominated by their own specific criteria and strategies. This happened, to mention just one instance, at a 1973 international conference organized by architect-anthropologist Amos Rapoport of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, at which participants (anthropologists, sociologists, one geographer, one psychologist, one psychiatrist, and I) could not quite agree when it came to giving a straightforward definition of culture. It is for this reason that I am citing a few authors, so that the reader can judge my own definition better.

In a very basic but delightful little book, anthropologist Douglas Oliver (1964) admits that it is confusing "that there should be such vagueness and such difference of

opinion over what it means," although most authors refer to learned habits shared by members of a community, some including its universal habits as well and the material products of such habits.

The famous anthropologist and linguist Edward Sapir (1924) recognized three main connotations of the term culture. One, used by ethnologists and culture-historians, embodies "any socially inherited element in the life of man, material and spiritual," thus being "coterminous with man himself." Another one, referring to "a rather conventional ideal of individual refinement, built up on a certain modicum of assimilated knowledge and experience but made up chiefly of a set of typical reactions that have the sanction of a class and of a tradition of long standing," concerns what we would call "a cultured person." The third conception embraces "those general attitudes, views of life, and specific manifestations of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world."

Anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1959) conceded that "though the concept of culture was first defined in print in 1871 by E. B. Tylor (Primitive Culture), after all these years it still lacks the rigorous specificity which characterizes many less revolutionary and useful ideas."

A speech communicationalist, Richard Porter (1972), uses the word culture as referring to "the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, meanings, beliefs, values, attitudes, religions, concepts of self, the universe, and self-universe relationships, hierarchies of status, role expectations, spatial relations, and time concepts acquired by a large group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving," while his colleague K. S. Sitaram (1972) writes that culture is "the sum total of learned behaviors of a group of people living in a geographic area."

Social psychologist Michael Argyle (1967), interested, as we are, in social interaction, understands by "the culture of a group of people . . . their whole way of life--their shared patterns of behavior, their common ideas and beliefs, their technology, and their art, science, literature, and history."

Finally, anthropologist-psychiatrist Robert A. LeVine (1973) uses the term to mean "an organized body of rules concerning the ways in which individuals in a population should communicate with one another, think about themselves and their environments, and behave toward one another and toward objects in their environments."

It is clear, then, that any definition of culture that may be offered tends to conform to the specific aims of a particular discipline. However, all students of culture, from whatever angle, agree on including as basic components: shared learned habits, ways of life, patterns of behavior, and material products. Personally, since the complex area of communication studies draws from different interrelated fields, I prefer to offer a more exhaustive and realistic picture by defining culture as: a series of habits shared by members of a group living in a geographic area, learned but biologically conditioned, such as the means of communication (language being the basis of them all), social relations at different levels, the various activities of daily life, the products of that group and how they are utilized, the peculiar manifestations of both individual and national personalities in their cultural context, its patterns and prohibitions, and their ideas concerning their own existence and their fellow men. Culture, then, is made up of a complex mesh of behaviors, and of the active or static results of those behaviors.

1.2. Culture as communication

A broad view of the various forms of communication developed in culture, as depicted in the accompanying chart

"Communication in Culture" (Fig. 1), reveals, first of all, that the elements associated with culture fall within two main categories: human, involving people and their activities (not the results of those activities), and nonhuman, including the products or results of those activities, as well as the other animal species closely associated with humans. I will comment briefly on these two categories as the basis of a supporting framework for the cultural analysis presented later.

1.2.1. Human culture seems to develop in two basic forms:

A. Interaction, either direct, that is, in face-to-face encounters, or in what I would call reduced interaction (when deaf, deafmute or blind people are involved, when full interaction is impeded by excessive distance or by material objects, or in the invisible dyad resulting from a telephone conversation); or delayed, but still personal, as in epistolary communication. Interaction is the most basic, most important and most complex of all forms of human communication, and also the one that radically differentiates dead culture from living culture. It is in interaction that we encounter the numerous channels we use consciously or unconsciously for the conveyance of messages, which I have subsumed in Chapter 3 as Total Body Communication, this including verbal-vocal (lexical language), nonverbal-vocal (paralanguage) and, above all, nonverbal-nonvocal (kinesics, proxemics, dermal changes, etc.) forms.

B. Non-interaction is, from the point of view of culture, a sort of delayed indirect conveyance of information, and it can be either personal (meant to reach a given individual or whoever may have access to it, as with tapes, films, literature and even painting) or impersonal, again from the point of view of its receiver.

1.2.2. Non-human culture--which, as regards interpersonal communication, we could also call contextual culture--overlaps the last group of human non-interactive communication forms as objectual communication, that is, the characteristics and arrangement of the artifacts typical of a culture, as well as the signs perceived in the environment shaped or built by us, as in landscaping, urban spaces and architectural designs. From the point of view of the signs themselves, and not their significants, all those communicative elements of culture can be considered non-human, detached from living, socializing beings, although their products. Finally, one should also include within non-human certain lower species associated with people, such as domestic animals, only inasmuch as they can reveal the effects of the culture in which they are raised. In fact, even non-domestic species, such as some birds and squirrels, show different attitudes toward humans according to their cultural setting.

1.3. Cultural fluency and the barriers of intercultural communication and acculturation

Basic, therefore, to the observation and study of the communicative multirepertoire of a culture, such as that of American speakers of English, is the awareness of the specific problems inherent to two processes to which we are exposed at one time or another: intercultural communication and acculturation.

1.3.1. The first one takes place as soon as we establish contact with another culture, or perhaps with another subculture within our own culture. It is a process to which we may be reacting, quite unaware of our doing so, while in another country, or simply watching a foreign film, or seeing foreigners in the street, or reading a foreign novel, or corresponding with a business relationship abroad. In each

of those instances our individual and cultural character (made up of beliefs, values, individual sensitiveness and inclinations) perceives different elements in the other culture, but, as a lens fitted with a photographic filter, it lets through whatever elements conform to our own way of thinking and dealing with the world around, while repelling, or at least altering, all those culture-based phenomena which seem strange or elicit in us a negative reaction, from a dialectical encounter to an absolute mental or physical rejection.

Intercultural misunderstanding and clash--deeply rooted in biology (as with racial differences), geography (as with climate and adaptation to it), history (as in the case of old feuds or relationships between nations), philosophy (as with Western thought vs. Oriental one), religion (even within the same culture), and in customs and style of life in general--have been the growing concern of American anthropologists. Edward T. Hall (1959, 1966 and others) is perhaps the one who most enthusiastically and with more insight has devoted his efforts to analyze the sources of intercultural differences and the adverse effects they have upon our relationships with other cultures, particularly in the case of North Americans, whose mobility, facilitated by a higher economic status, exposes them to all cultures of the world, in which they often assume serious responsibilities.

We must agree that no matter how much our world is shrinking, no matter how many common goals are recognized, as personal and mass communication media develop, cultures are still different worlds in themselves, both physically and intellectually. In order to communicate we seek linguistic fluency (for which foreign language teaching is resorting to the most advanced techniques), but around that core of language we need to build up other fluencies as well: paralinguistic, kinesic, proxemic, chronemic, to name only

the broader and most essential categories (Poyatos, 1972a). We need, in sum, to attain cultural fluency, and for this we must analyze a culture with a high degree of accuracy, decide what is universal and what culture-bound, contrast it with our own, and decide also which kind of observation, or acculturation, process we wish to go through, which type of communication we seek, how deep we want to probe into that culture, or whether we aim only at its general style. In fact, the strategies depend on the specific goals of each particular field, which actually converge in the study of culture, the interdisciplinary field where any attempt at conducting serious work through only one channel, say, social psychology, would be most unrealistic.

As basic barriers that may impede intercultural perception and understanding, some authors (Porter, 1972) have listed a series of overlapping and interacting factors, such as (a) attitudes, whether ethnocentrism (by which we tend to view and judge people according to our own standards) in religion, politics, customs, food, dress, or art; world-view perspectives that may use different frames of reference; absolute values regarding good and bad, ugly and beautiful, true and false, etc.; or stereotypes by which we generalize about Blacks, Mexicans, Italians, etc., and prejudices which make us behave in certain ways toward those people; (b) social organization, as regards government, family, law, etc.; (c) patterns of thought, mainly between the Western and the Oriental worlds, but also between Anglo-Saxon and Latin ways of thinking about family ties, moral values, etc., which cause so much confusion; (d) role expectations (obviously derived from patterns of thought) can also produce misunderstanding, as it has traditionally happened between American girls attending Spanish schools and native males, since the role of moderating sex behavior in Spain is prescribed exclusively (or was until recently, since there is a strong

current of acculturation in Spanish youth, mainly through American movies, literature and personal contacts) for the male role, and the more unprejudiced attitude of the American girls has always been taken for loose morals; (e) the conceptualization of time (discussed as "chronemics" in Chapter 6), a most common source of cultural clash between the two aforementioned cultures, since, in general, a half-hour delay is not so offensive in Spain as it would be in North America, for instance; (f) the handling of space (that is, proxemic behavior), whether in a man-environment relationship (architecture, furniture, etc.) or among people, is also a typical source of misunderstanding for Americans who, when in Spain, Italy or Morocco, have to feel their interlocutor's face about twelve inches from their own, while they are grabbed by the arm or patted on the side; (g) the language barrier, which does not arise only with respect to correct or incorrect translation, but when the "correct" translation, for instance, carries different semantic values deeply rooted in the cultural background; and (h) nonverbal communication, which some authors illustrate with comments on culture-specific gestures, but is actually a complex series of systems, as it will be shown later, encompassing proxemics, chronemics, and "object language."

Much could be elaborated on these intercultural communication barriers, their own interrelationship and mutual conditioning, and a more accurate classification could be arrived at easily. I included the preceding comments simply to show one instance of the general interdisciplinary preoccupation for such problems.

1.3.2. As for acculturation, which is practically coterminous with intercultural communication, but actually comprising the latter, it is the process to which we are exposed when we become in contact with another culture, but more specifically, in my opinion, the degree of adaptation achieved

by a member of one culture when in contact with, or living in, another culture. Two cultures can communicate, or fail to communicate, in a personal encounter between two or more people, or through a film; but when we visit a foreign country, or decide to settle in it, either we strive to adapt our life style, our attitude toward people and situations and our gestures and mannerism to what we see and feel as "native," or continue to display our own culture and experience an inevitable misunderstanding. However, if we settle in a foreign country, or even during a short stay in it, we are, whether we want it or not, accommodating ourselves to its culture in one degree or another. This process of adaptation to another culture, which may take place even without leaving our own (think of Eskimos taking up TV-watching, or Spaniards introducing donuts, hamburgers, blue jeans and the sexual freedom of other countries), consists of the overcoming of each of the intercultural barriers just mentioned, the order in which it may happen varying with the individual disposition towards language, food, time handling, etc. We could say, then, that true intercultural communication is the result of proper acculturation.

In order for the student of his own verbal and nonverbal systems of communication to understand them fully and effectively, he must appreciate the degree to which these repertoires are typical of his own culture or universal the problems he himself could pose for members of another culture, and the behaviors he should modify, or suppress altogether, according to the specific culture he is confronted with, if proper communication is sought.

1.4. Intercultural communication and miscommunication illustrated

After suggesting what the term culture is all about, and before explaining the nature and components of verbal

and nonverbal communication within or outside our own culture, as carried out through constant exchange, I would like to present a real-life case of intercultural communication and miscommunication, actually the first one to which I was exposed when I was attending the University of Madrid. It concerns my old friend Tom Todd (today a successful real-estate agent), who in the early 50's, after graduating from his high school in Youngstown, Ohio, with some knowledge of Spanish, decided to take some courses at the University of Madrid and be my roommate at a family home. What happened on the first day of his acculturation process was quite revealing.[1]

As soon as he saw me from the train window upon its arrival at the station, he looked at me, winked and made an OK gesture (known in Spain through American movies and tourists, but not native at all). Then he stepped down and we shook hands in a way common to our cultures, although I grabbed his upper arm with my left hand and patted him on his shoulder blade (K), while saying something (he in English, I in Spanish) common also to our respective cultures (Lg). But then, when I tried to carry his suitcase, he translated his "Oh, it's all right" literally into Spanish, actually saying "Well done"(Lg). Then we went home, and I introduced him to the landlady, who barely stretched out her hand at Tom because he (an average Midwesterner) was not thinking of shaking a woman's hand (K). "Well, how was your trip?" she asked in Spanish; and Tom, thinking of English drawled (Pg) "Well--," because it had not been very good, answered "Bueno . . .," which actually means "Good" (Lg), so she smiled and said she was glad. Well, after that Tom sat on a chair, began to talk with his hands crossed over his head (K), using long hesitation vowels, "Uh--," (Pg) quite often, laughed noisily sometimes (Pg), and once he stretched his arms (K). Later, walking down the street, he was amused at

men who complimented attractive women (Rex), and surprised that the window of any small grocery store should be well filled with alcoholic beverages. Incidentally, when he bought me a beer at a bar counter he did not leave a tip, which is customary in Spain (Sor). Back in the street, he tried to hail a yellow car thinking it was a Yellow Cab (OLg). At the University, he never expected students to be able to drink anything between classes at the well-supplied cafeteria-bar each school has within the campus (Pt, Sor). I introduced him to some girls, with whom he shook hands, and sat with them for a beer. However, I noticed that he was letting his girl pay for her own beer, instead of doing it himself, as it is quite common there (Rex, Pt). I also overheard him ask why practically no students in Spain thought of getting a job, even paying their way through college instead of living on their parents usually until they married (Pt, Rex). We took the subway on the way home, and Tom was about to hit a man because he kept pressing him on the side. I tried to explain to him that it was the rush hour, for one thing, and that physical contact was common in Spain, especially in such a situation (Px). Back home again, the landlady was quite pleased when Tom held her chair as we were sitting for lunch (for that is not so common among the middle class there), but then she looked at me through the corner of her eye as he kept changing his fork from one hand to the other (instead of keeping it in his left hand and using the right one only for his knife, as Europeans do), and when he pushed the cake with his thumb, licked two of his fingers and bit from a slice of bread instead of taking a little piece at a time (K).

In sum, Tom was there with the sincere intention of behaving like a Spaniard, and for that purpose he had attained certain fluency in the language. What he did not know was that he had carried his culture with him, that he was

displaying it all the time and that he was in desperate need of a little cultural fluency.

If I gave an example of intercultural communication it was simply because communication problems are more obvious between cultures than within our own. It is true, as I pointed out, that English speakers face similar encounters and environments sooner or later. But even within their own culture they should know the what's, how's, why's, when's and with-whom's of their own everyday behavior, that culture is something formed not only of values, beliefs and artifacts, but of the many ways of communicating and establishing, or breaking, the flow of interaction, organically interrelated and mutually conditioned. Furthermore, whatever is included in the definition of culture I just gave originates in man in contact with other human beings, with other animal species and with the man-shaped or natural environment.

1.5. Culture as a dynamic continuum

1.5.1. Culture, therefore, is kept alive by a constant exchange among its members. Once I argued whether one could refer to Robinson Crusoe's culture in his island--in spite of the artifacts devised by him and in spite of his own solitary habits and life style--before initiating a communicative exchange of material and intellectual elements with his man Friday, from the time he decodes the signs of his footprints.

At any rate, when we refer to the artifacts, roadways, temples and land distribution of a long-disappeared culture, we are, of course, speaking of cultural traits, but not of culture in the dynamic sense of the word, for it is in a permanently static state, has no one to use those things and make them live, linking them to the human mind which devised them, prescribed specific roles for them, used them in personal exchange of ideas and material goods and assigned to them specific values. It is only dead material culture,

suggesting an intellectual one, but lacking what would make it a dynamic continuum: men in constant interaction with members of their own species, with lower species and with their environment. Interaction, the exchange of messages carried by signs with symbolic value (words, tone of voice variations, gestures, billboards, furniture shape and arrangement, clothes) requires a transmitter (or sender) and a receiver, and the behaviors they display in their interaction are formed, or dictated, by the habits (learned but biologically conditioned) mentioned in the definition of culture, whose meanings, as I will explain later, can be emitted and perceived in different ways in the interaction process.

1.5.2. I must point out that some people mistake culture for civilization, and vice versa. If by civilization we understand, in a historical perspective, the sum of man's realizations, not only materially but socially, politically, ideologically, artistically and scientifically, in his constant strife for improvement, then we see that the previous definition of culture falls within civilization. For a critical analysis of our own communicative repertoires, as well as for those of another culture, we would approach habits not only synchronically (at one point in time, like our own days) but diachronically (from the point of view of evolution in the course of time), not only in a spatial perspective but in a temporal one, observing them either at the national level or within a subculture, in a fifteen or twenty-year span.

On the other hand, we should be able to differentiate between genetically-based habits and learned habits in our daily series of behaviors. As long as teachers and students of language can identify those genetic habits that do not necessarily become cultural habits because they do not spread to the rest of the community after being adopted by many other people (a nervous tic which could be borrowed by others,

a peculiar way of laughing that could become a learned one), they should be concerned only about learned habits, the ones that really make up a culture, and they will have to observe them, be perfectly aware of them, and, of course, learn them if confronted with a foreign culture.

In analyzing learned habits, I have seen a double characteristic in them. First, a spatial or geographical dimension. A habit may "belong" to a family or a clan, it can be transmitted to larger groups, to the entire community, and even to other cultures, as it has happened, for example, with the German expression "caput," or the Latin gesture made by pressing the bunched fingers of one hand against the mouth, smacking the lips and perhaps saying "Delicious!" Group habits are familiar to all of us: the way student girls carry books against their chests, while boys carry them against their hips; the way hospital nurses stick scissors on the back of their uniform belts; the typical smile and tone of voice used by stewardesses. Culture-wide habits are, for example, holding a door for someone a little bit too long, drinking coffee while eating, or shaking hands with your own father, instead of kissing him like in other cultures.

Secondly, there is a temporal dimension to them, in the sense that they have been consciously or unconsciously learned from generation to generation until they become permanent in a community or culture, so we can speak of North American habits and French habits; also, because it is possible to observe how some of them appear, develop, and even disappear, something linked, of course, to other cultural changes. Think, for instance, of the changes in furniture style, specially since the 18th century, when curved and softer chairs and sofas made postures more relaxed; or the habits brought about by the use of tobacco, a typical conditioner of certain gestures and postures, as in the case of some "mature" or

newly-married students who would never give up their pipe-conditioned manners and postures in the classroom; or the junior college instructor with a visible assortment of pipes on his desk. Let us not forget either the many gestures, manners and postures born with new fashions, such as hands stuck in blue-jeans front pockets, and the specific gait style conditioned by it in both sexes; the sitting habits prompted by the length of the skirts; how long hair falling over their faces make girls (unconsciously or very consciously) push it aside with a delicate and extremely feminine manner, and how it makes boys who wear it that way go around shaking their heads. But just as habits can be born due to changes in life style, to intercultural borrowings, to varying moral values and role prescriptions, etc., they can also die away in the course of one or two generations, or even more abruptly.

Some of the experiences and field-work projects for this chapter aim, therefore, at eliciting in students and teachers the careful observation of their own classmates and colleagues (and, of course, themselves), and to making them differentiate genetic habits from learned ones, as well as the geographical varieties of the latter from the changes they may be undergoing at the present time.

1.6. The field-work approach to the total cultural context

Once we are aware of the elements which constitute what can be called culture, of how they can become sources of miscommunication and misunderstanding, not only between cultures but between subcultures, and of how they can appear in the cultural scene, develop, and disappear in the course of time, I would like to suggest that, although the main purpose of this monograph is to show the immediate nonverbal behaviors that are associated with language, one should be able to approach all those verbal and nonverbal communicative

modalities in a systematic fashion and in the total context of their own culture. It is for this reason that I would like to outline the kind of exhaustive and methodical analysis of a culture I suggested on different occasions, but more formally at the Wisconsin conference, mentioned earlier in this chapter (Poyatos, 1973 b), and at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, in 1973.

1.6.1. The basis of this approach, as outlined in the chart "Analysis of a Culture Through its Culturemes" (Fig. 2), is the unit of culture which I labelled <u>cultureme</u>, and defined as: any portion of cultural activity sensorially or intellectually apprehended in signs of symbolic value, which can be divided up into smaller units or amalgamated into larger ones; and its application consists of several phases or stages through which a progressive analysis is carried out from a broader view of culture to an exhaustive and minute study of features, as outlined in the accompanying chart.

1.6.2. <u>Phase One</u> differentiates between the <u>urban</u> world and the <u>rural</u> one, since man functions differently in each of these two environments, behaves differently, shapes culture differently and, therefore, displays different communicative repertoires, something which anyone can notice by going from a city department store to a small-town general store and observing people's speech, movements, clothes, etc. And both man himself and his surrounding communicative elements change also from the <u>exterior</u> environment (the street, the highway) to the <u>interior</u> one (the home, the theater). This bird's-eye-view stage of cultural analysis is, then, carried out according to four <u>basic zones</u>: Urban-Exterior, Urban-Interior, Rural-Exterior, and Rural-Interior, which at the same time constitute the four <u>Basic Culturemes</u>. Through them a given culture identifies itself, although in

a rather impressionistic way and more sensorially than intellectually, since patterns in social attitudes, certain ideas concerning the handling of time in the various personal relationships, or the deep cultural background of the display or restraint of emotion (through words, gestures, etc.), are not easily discerned at this early stage under normal circumstances. In other words, we would detect in the American culture: visually, the separation of the business areas from the residential ones in the city, or the land distribution and the various styles of farm houses in the country; acoustically, the sirens of police cars, ambulances and fire engines, the chimes of some official buildings or college chapels, the sounds of cattle in the rural areas, or the housewife's vacuum cleaner in the homes; olfactorily, the automobile exhausts in downtown areas, mixed with the smell of hamburger, drugstore air and theater-lobby popcorn, or the newly-mowed lawns of residential areas and the newly-plowed fields of farm country; and one can, of course, feel through tactile and kinesthetic perceptions, the pavement of highways and country roads, the carpeted halls of commercial buildings, or the spatial arrangement of classroom furniture. These first sensorial impressions, however, give us certain insights into a national personality and a specific life style, and constitute elements of objectual nonverbal communication of great importance, even though they fall outside the province of this monograph.

1.6.3. In this progressive analysis of cultural layers, Phase Two focuses on two more broad domains in each of the pre-established basic zones: Human, that is, man himself functioning in daily relations as a biologically-based being, and Non-Human, or environment (including other animals and any type of man-made or natural objects), which not only shapes his behaviors but is in turn shaped, "culturized," by those behaviors (as reflected in tools, land, domestic

and wild animals, etc.). In other words, at this stage we make only a broad distinction which, if in a foreign culture, we would experience as part of the acculturation process in a sort of sensorial (sounds, smells, etc.)-intellectual (use of time, etc.) approach, in which we begin to discern certain highly communicative cultural patterns, such as the relationship teacher-student, boy-girl, employer-employee, etc. In this phase, then, we study eight Primary Culturemes.

1.6.4. Next, in Phase Three, each primary cultureme is broken down into as many settings as we can find in a given culture (Secondary Culturemes): the home, the church, the bar, the restaurant, the country club). The idea is, therefore, to work in a systematic progression towards a finer and finer apprehension of various cultural (and communicative) systems, since dealing at the very start with smaller units would be unrealistic even in our own culture and would hinder further accurate analysis, not considering broader areas first to later work in a logical way through more specific compartments, as the chart suggests. Say we are trying to study "Postural behavior in the living room of a laborer's home." We could hardly do it competently without first considering the general behavior of the laborer's class in the home as a setting (secondary cultureme); then the visually perceived patterns in that setting (tertiary cultureme), both human (proxemic behavior, clothing, grooming) and nonhuman (furniture style and arrangement, temperature); later the kinesic repertoire only (derived cultureme); and, finally, the kinesic repertoire in the living room (derived cultureme 1) and the postural repertoire in the same setting (derived cultureme 2), from which we can go into postures displayed by the same people in front of certain other people, and so on.

It is at this level of secondary culturemes, however, that we begin to identify certain interrelationships among

different cultural systems and subsystems (paralinguistics or kinesics in personal interaction, proxemics and sex values, etc.), while some borderlines between various subcultures within the same culture, geographically as well as socially, begin to show themselves more distinctly.

1.6.5. In Phase Four, the breaking down of each secondary cultureme into smaller units (Tertiary Culturemes) allows for an even more systematic classification, since each sensorial or intellectual compartment is analyzed as a separate unit ("Urban-Interior-Human-Visual: the Home," or "Kinesic behavior in the urban American home"). And it is at this stage, as we acquire more and more elements of judgment, that we can identify two important elements: cultural systems (e.g., kinesic behavior across a whole culture, cultural repertoire of paralinguistic features) and subcultures (e.g., "Paralinguistic features of the American Deep South").

1.6.6. Derived Phases, as I briefly described in 1.5.4., break down each tertiary cultureme into the different manifestations of each sensorial system (within visual: kinesics, proxemics, etc.), as Derived Culturemes, and then concentrate (derived cultureme 1) on specific areas, such as kinesics at the table, or (derived cultureme 2) kinesics at the table of upper-class hosts and middle-class guests, and so on, until we can analyze (as derived cultureme 3) upper-class eye-contact behavior at the table, etc., and so on.

Finally, any study of behavior and communication within the context of culture must consider at all times (as is explained in the next chapter) what I have termed the biophysico-psychological and sociographical-economic conditioning background. Certain factors, such as age, sex, socioeconomic medium, geographical location, etc., will present elements for finer analysis, revealing, as they become discernible, individual, family, community, and national features within each communicative modality, from speech through object language to chronemics (handling of time).

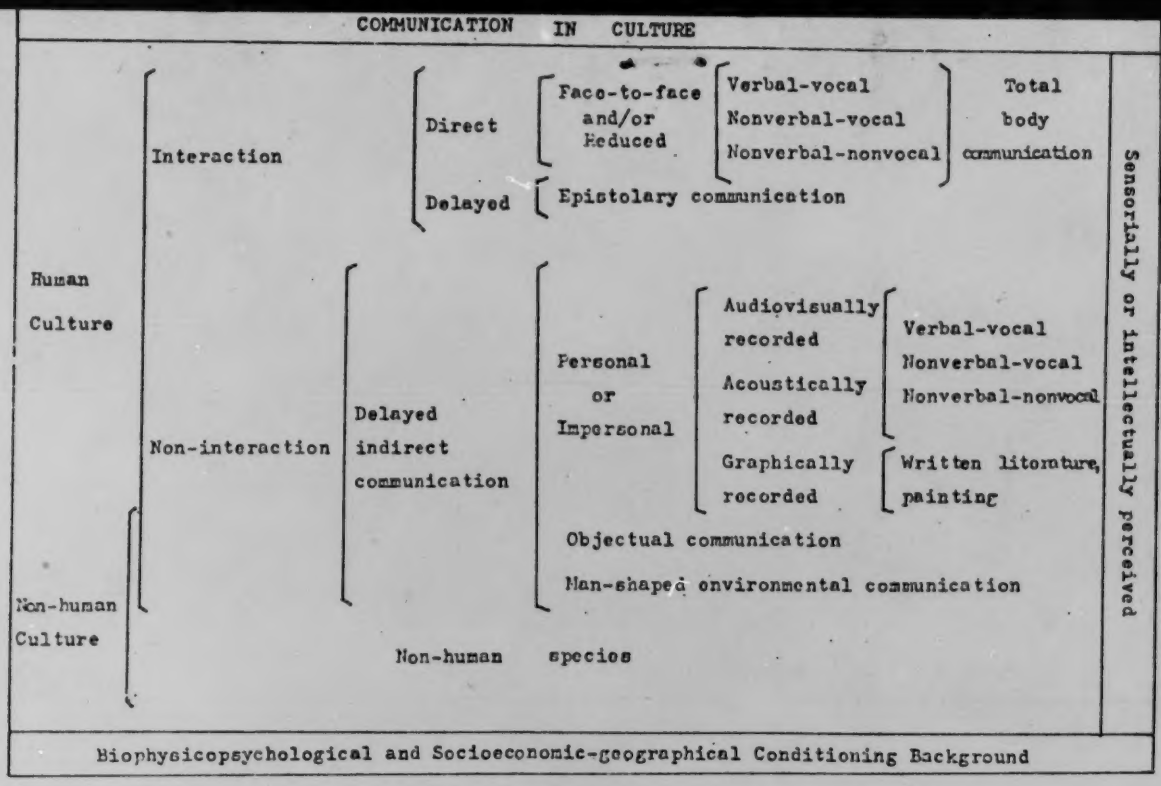

COMMUNICATION IN CULTURE
Human Culture
Non-human Culture
Interaction
Direct
Face-to-face and/or Reduced
Verbal-vocal
Nonverbal-vocal
Nonverbal-nonvocal
Total body communication
Delayed
Epistolary communication
Non-interaction
Delayed indirect communication
Personal or Impersonal
Audiovisually recorded
Acoustically recorded
Graphically recorded
Verbal-vocal
Nonverbal-vocal
Nonverbal-nonvocal
Written literature, painting
Objectual communication
Man-shaped environmental communication
Non-human species
Sensorially or intellectually perceived
Biophysicopsychological and Socioeconomic-geographical Conditioning Background

Fig. 1

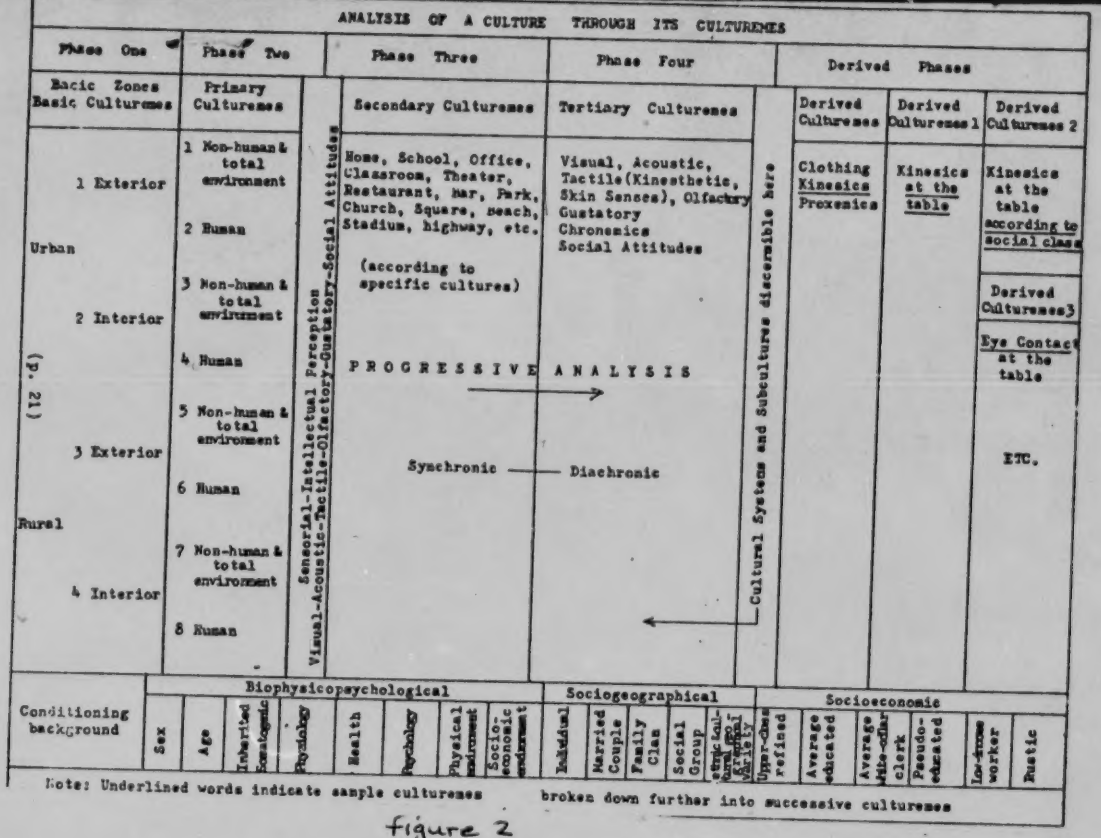

ANALYSIS OF A CULTURE THROUGH ITS CULTUREMES
Phase One
Phase Two
Phase Three
Phase Four
Derived Phases
Basic Zones
Basic Culturemes
Primary Culturemes
Secondary Culturemes
Tertiary Culturemes
Derived Culturemes
Derived Culturemes 1
Derived Culturemes 2
1 Exterior
Urban
2 Interior
3 Exterior
Rural
4 Interior
1 Non-human & total environment
2 Human
3 Non-human & total environment
4 Human
5 Non-human & total environment
6 Human
7 Non-human & total environment
8 Human
Sensorial-Intellectual Perception
Visual-Acoustic-Tactile-Olfactory-Gustatory-Social Attitudes
Home, School, Office, Classroom, Theater, Restaurant, Bar, Park, Church, Square, Beach, Stadium, highway, etc.
(according to specific cultures)
Visual, Acoustic, Tactile (Kinesthetic, Skin Senses), Olfactory
Gustatory
Chronemics
Social Attitudes
PROGRESSIVE ANALYSIS
Synchronic
Diachronic
Cultural Systems and Subcultures discernible here
Clothing
Kinesics
Proxemics
Kinesics at the table
Kinesics at the table according to social class
Derived Culturemes 3
Eye Contact at the table
ETC.
(p. 21)
Conditioning background
Biophysicopsychological
Sex
Age
Inherited Somatotypic
Psychology
Health
Psychology
Physical environment
Socio-economic environment
Sociogeographical
Individual
Married Couple
Family Clan
Social Group
Socioeconomic
Upper-class refined
Average educated
Average white-collar clerk
Pseudo-educated
Low-income worker
Rustic
Note: Underlined words indicate sample culturemes
broken down further into successive culturemes

figure 2

CHAPTER 2

TOTAL BODY COMMUNICATION AND THE MECHANISM OF INTERACTION

In order to complement the previous chapter on the nature of culture and its direct relation to communication, I show in this one to what extent that communication is produced and perceived by our body; and, after defining the rather controversial concepts "verbal-nonverbal," "vocal-nonvocal," I outline an exhaustive classification of its communicative activities--some of them unduly disregarded--as a methodological schema applicable to different areas of research, whether anthropological, medical, psychosocial or psycholinguistic; the functions and interrelationships of verbal and nonverbal systems, and how interaction takes place, involving some basic concepts in semiotics; and an overview of the conditioning background of all human activities.

2.1. The nature of body communication

After dealing with the concept and nature of culture and with the fact that culture necessarily implies a series of communicative activities carried out by learned, but biologically conditioned, habits, I would like to comment on how most of the nonverbal ways of communicating, which constitute the main subject of this book, are (apart from objectual or environmental ones, also outlined at the end) not only rooted in but produced by our body. It is, therefore, the complete communicative output of man's organism in association with his or different species, and the chart below (which I presented at a congress on communication) attempts to acknowledge all the ways in which the human animal's body is capable of emitting and receiving information (Poyatos, 1974).

I believe that most of the semantic content of personal interaction in co-presence (usually referred to as face-to-face interaction) is conveyed by the body through motor, respiratory, dermal, thermal, and secretional channels, corresponding to activities like gesturing, phonetic articulation, skin papillary erection (goose flesh), temperature changes, and perspiration. In turn, those activities are perceived through the same channels plus the visual, auditory, olfactory and gustatory ones. The rest of the message-conveying activities taking place during interaction provide only complementary information facilitated by the physical environment, perceived also in a sensorial way, and both sensorially and intellectually by the rest of the cultural context, while the communicative behaviors themselves are always subject, as I pointed out in the first chapter, to the biophysicopsychological and socio-graphical-economic background by which sender and receiver are conditioned individually as well as culturally.

In other words, the strictly human communicative potentials (mechanical or other means aside) rely on different bodily functions without the help of any external agents, except in the case of object-adaptors, such as writing utensils (which, on the other hand, produce not only a text but a graphologically analyzable specimen), a pipe, bread crumbs we manipulate at the table, etc., which, again, depend upon the body itself.

2.2. What is verbal and nonverbal, vocal and nonvocal?

Before establishing the three basic classes of body communication (verbal-vocal, nonverbal-vocal, and nonverbal-nonvocal), I feel I should--in view of the discrepancy among different authors as regards the dichotomies verbal-nonverbal and vocal-nonvocal, and the subjects included in each area--specify my view of the matter, citing first some other students of communication whose work ought to be familiar to the reader.

While Ekman and Friesen, in an article which has become quite well known (1969), include within nonverbal behavior only "any movement or position of the face and/or the body," thus not differentiating between nonverbal and nonvocal, Duncan (1969) includes paralanguage (another term subject to discussion [Abercrombie, 1968; Lieberman, 1973]), kinesics, proxemics, olfaction, skin sensitiveness to touch and temperature, and even the use of artifacts, such as Ekman and Friesen's "object-adaptors" (mentioned earlier); and in body motion or kinesic behavior he includes facial expression, eye movement and postures.

Lyons (1972) distinguishes, in the first place, vocal from nonvocal signals, according to whether the signals are transmitted in the vocal-auditory "channel" or not (by this term implying the two end-points: sender and receiver), and then considers language as made up of verbal (extrictly lexical) and nonverbal (prosodic) components, the latter, of course, being still vocal; while he is inclined, with Abercrombie, to apply the controversial term "paralinguistics" to features playing a supporting role, such as gestures and eye movements, and to include both prosodic and paralinguistic phenomena within non-segmental (linguistic, therefore, subsuming for him verbal and prosodic).

Argyle (1972) comes the closest to the classification I shall propose by calling kinesics and proxemics nonverbal, as well as what he refers to as nonverbal aspects of speech, or paralanguage.

Laver and Hutcheson, in the introduction to a volume of readings on face-to-face interaction (1972), identify verbal with actual words, nonverbal with vocal or nonvocal conversational behavior (for them paralanguage) apart from words, thus distinguishing: vocal-verbal (words), vocal-nonverbal (intonation and paralanguage), nonvocal-verbal (written or printed language), and nonvocal-nonverbal (kinesics: facial

expression, gesture and posture); four means of communicating that offer linguistic, paralinguistic (for them nonlinguistic, nonverbal phenomena, both vocal [tone of voice] and nonvocal [kinesics, proxemics and related modalities]), and extralinguistic features ("by definition non-verbal, non-linguistic and non-paralinguistic"; either vocal [biologically, psychologically and socially-based voice quality] or nonvocal [as the style of dress]).

The reader will see that Laver and Hutcheson's definition of verbal, nonverbal-vocal and nonverbal-nonvocal coincide with the classification I am using, although in the case of nonverbal-nonvocal I have elaborated further, encompassing the rest of the communicative systems that I study under Total Body Communication in this chapter. I will offer the following definitions:

Verbal-vocal communication is the acoustic non-autonomous vocal system formed by segmental lexical structures and their essential suprasegmental patterns of stress, pitch and juncture.

Nonverbal-vocal communication is the acoustic non-autonomous system, whether respiratory or not, formed by the extreme variations of the suprasegmental patterns of stress, pitch and juncture, and the series of phenomena generally studied as paralinguistic, many of which go beyond the traditional phonemic norms as "marginal" and "non-speech" sounds, and to which pauses can be added as perfectly encoded and decoded semantic components of paralanguage.

Nonverbal-nonvocal communication includes acoustic, visual, olfactory and tactile means of conveying information and eliciting interaction, and they can complement each other.

2.3. Towards an exhaustive description of Total Body Communication

In order for the reader to really appreciate the message-conveying qualities of whatever nonverbal modalities he may

study, whether in linguistics or other disciplines, centered around the English language or a foreign one, he should have a frame of reference applicable to observational analysis, clinical study, or field-work collating of some or all the ways in which the human body emits and receives information about an individual or a whole community, either intentionally and in total awareness of the communicative process, or through uncontrollable, out-of-awareness physiological reactions.

The chart "Total Body Communication" (Fig. 3), which I have suggested on different occasions (Poyatos, 1973 a, 1974), should be consulted, therefore, every time the reader deals with a different form of bodily activity sensorially perceived, whether indicated in this book or not, and ascertain its exact location in the proposed schema.

2.3.1. When trying to establish a taxonomy of the different components of body communication, one comes, first of all, across four basic categories according to the sensorial channels involved: <u>acoustic, visual, olfactory and tactile,</u>[2] among which three equally basic classes are distributed: verbal-vocal, nonverbal-vocal and nonverbal-nonvocal, the second and third ones overlapping at one point, paralinguistic alternants (a click is vocally produced, a sniff is not).

There are, besides, two overriding features according to which one can make an important distinction within each basic category, a distinction that may determine the nature and aims of the investigation to be carried out: those forms of communication that are solely <u>interactional</u> under normal circum- (a verbal or kinesic interrogation, an intimate proxemic behavior, as between lovers, their own kinesthetic perception of each other, etc.), and those that are <u>non-interactional</u> (self-adaptors, object-adaptors, postural behavior, dermal changes, secretions, and different forms of kinesic activity),

figure 3 removed due to poor reproducibility

with an in-between group that can be both, like the non-interactional behaviors just mentioned in the parenthesis.

Furthermore, when analyzing the ways in which the various forms of body communication are produced, one finds that each basic category of sensory perception (acoustic, visual, olfactory, tactile) has to be subdivided into several overlapping subcategories related not only to the channels through which messages are conveyed (respiratory-nonrespiratory, visual-acoustic--visual-silent, and proxemic), but to the way in which they are perceived (motor-based or static). Such a subclassification allows for a flexible methodology adaptable to specific research strategies, where areas such as acoustic-nonrespiratory-nonvocal phenomena, or olfactory-static cues, can be focused upon as the main subject.

2.3.2. Acoustic body communication includes, like the visually perceived one, a great part of the message-conveying phenomena produced by the body. Body sounds are produced, mainly, (a) by vocal modifications of respiratory air (as in language and most paralinguistic phenomena), or simply by its two "inarticulated" phases, inspiration-expiration (as in some paralinguistic features), (b) by nonvocal-nonrespiratory sounds produced by the body itself in three bone joints: the first interphalangeals (as in knuckle-cracking), the femur-tibia one at the knee, and the talotibial one of the ankle, (c) by intestinal gas expelled through the anus, or stomachic gas let out by the mouth, and (d) by abrupt contact of various parts of the body, mainly the extremities, against itself, against other bodies, or against objects.[3]

It is with paralinguistic alternants that not only vocal (a hiss) and nonvocal (a nareal ingression) overlap, but also respiratory (a sigh) and nonrespiratory (a click).

2.3.3. The aforementioned series of externally produced body sounds falling within visual-acoustic kinesics make the acoustic and visual categories overlap. It comprises free

gestures (finger-snapping) and self-adaptors (slapping one's thigh), and four forms of manners: acoustic manners (knuckle-cracking), self-adaptors (clapping), object-adaptors (desk-tapping), and alter-adaptors (back-slapping).[4]

2.3.4. Visual body communication shares, therefore, the acoustic types of motor-based nonvocal sounds, that is, in kinesics, while containing its own three groups of movements and movement-based positions of the body: free gestures (face, hands, eye contact) and self-adaptors (hand-to-chin); free manners (hitting palm against fist while talking), self-adaptor manners (slapping oneself in cold weather), object-adaptor manners (pipe-handling), and alter-adaptor manners (hand-shaking); and all postures.

Within motor-based visual behavior (not precisely moving, but the result of movement) are: the four distances distinguished by Hall (1966), that is, public, social, personal and intimate; and the distance kept from object-adaptors (desks, counters).

Still within visual communication, but in a static subcategory, are also certain types of body-adaptors (clothes, jewelry, glasses), plus factors associated with body appearance (grooming signs, color, gait), dermal changes that can be seen (blushing, goose flesh), and secretions (tears, perspiration, urine).

One could argue, of course, for the sake of exhaustiveness, that secretions have also a dynamic aspect to them, since tears run down the cheeks, just as perspiration runs down different parts of the body, and that certain children and men like to draw figures as they urinate on a wall or on the ground.

2.3.5. Olfactory body communication, in turn, shares the last group of visual-static cues, that is, secretions, including by itself: grooming, body odors, and the odors from some body-adaptors, such as clothes, tobacco and drinks.

There is also a point at which olfactory transmission of information coincides with nonverbal-nonrespiratory sounds, namely the external intestinal noises.

2.3.6. Tactile body communication, finally, covers: alter-adaptor kinesic behavior, that is behavior applied to another being (handshake, patting, love-making), intimate and personal proxemic behavior (courting, love-making, handshake), kinesthetic perception of other bodies (love-making, greetings, contact-kinesics behavior), and dermal perception (love-making, temperature, skin texture).

2.4. Relationships among forms of total body communication

All forms of body communication activities, whether between interactants or within one's own repertoire (in what later I will refer to as self-regulatory function), are, we discover, interrelated and interconditioned in ways that the student of his own language cannot ignore, as lexical, semantic, morphological and syntactical variations in his use of that language are tied to variations in the use of nonverbal communicative modalities.

While authors like Ekman and Friesen (1969) state that a nonverbal act can repeat, augment, illustrate, accent, or contradict the words, and that it can anticipate, coincide with, substitute for, or follow verbal behavior (this part of communicative behavior, which is not autonomous, being the unquestionable core of human intellectual exchange and the truly anthropomorphic signalling system), one should consider that verbal behavior is not the only activity with which the nonverbal behaviors are related in the actual communication situation, and that all nonverbal acts can be mutually related, acting either as modifiers or as context. I will suggest, by way of examples, the following instances:

Paralanguage to kinesics. The apico-alveolar click [tz'] + double headshake is used to repeat negation; a loud

and drawled "Well!" anticipates a firm handshake; an ironic "Sure!" + headnod contradicts the verbal affirmation; a paralinguistic growl and one's hand advancing forward like a tiger's head illustrate each other.

Paralanguage to proxemics. Whispery, breathy voice increases as intimate distance turns into erotic play; very open voice (pharyngeal control), high volume and tense articulation occur at public distance in oratory; if you whisper at someone while walking towards him, you anticipate personal or intimate distance.

Paralanguage to chronemics. Chronemics, discussed later, is the term I have proposed for the area of study that would deal with the conceptualization and handling of time, just as proxemics studies space. The pause and its structure (subject to duration, the two audible respiratory phases, kinesic markers, situational context, etc.) is a valid example of this type of relationship; another one is the kind of laughter and its duration according to upbringing, social status and situational context.

Paralanguage to dermal changes. Irregular rhythm of speech, slight glottalization, and use of hesitation vowels ("Uh"), clicks and pauses, may be concomitant to, or anticipate, blushing; a drawled ingressive labiodental fricative [>f→] may accompany goose flesh produced by cold.

Paralanguage to tactile perception. A spasmodic and ingressive labiodental fricative [>f̲] may illustrate the tactile perception of a hot object; lower pitch, whispering and rasp voice may be conditioned by kinesthetic perception of someone else's body in love play.

Paralanguage to olfactory perception. A drawled closed-lip ingressive nareal (nostril) friction [>ˇ|ˇ→] may signify the perception of a pleasant odor.

Kinesics to kinesics. Stretches or structural patterns within the same communicative type of behavior may condition

each other. Two friends who stop suddenly upon seeing each other, open their arms and display a happy facial expression, are anticipating a mutual embrace with heavy slapping of each other's back.

Kinesics to proxemics. The embrace of the above example is anticipated while still at far personal, or even social, distance; his distance from the audience makes an actor over-emphasize his gestural behavior; kinesics replaces language as the distance between interactors makes it necessary.

Kinesics to chronemics. Depending, of course, on psychological, somatic and social variables, people in a waiting room or at a party change their postural behavior as time goes by, and it is possible for an observer to guess how long certain persons have been there.

Kinesics to body-adaptors. The special fitting of clothes on one's body and the use of cigarettes, pipes, glasses or jewelry gives certain characteristics to one's kinesic repertoire of gestures, postures and manners.

Kinesics to olfactory perception. You can tell by someone's gestures whether he is perceiving, or simply speaking of, bad or good odors.

Proxemics to chronemics. The duration of a visit, whether formal, familiar or highly protocolarian, is directly related to the distance kept among the participants (the more informal, the longer it may last, and vice versa), unless unusual circumstances affect both the spatial and the chronemic behaviors; at an informal party, distances of flirtation, of sexual overtures or simply of common interests in conversation shorten as time passes, conditioned, of course, by drinking (as revealed by more relaxation, loss of certain inhibitions, etc.) and other factors.

Proxemics to olfactory perception. Certain body odors and some perfumes (body-adaptors) may induce shortening of distance between two bodies, just as odors considered

offensive, or carrying a negative sexual meaning for some, if not for all, make personal distance lengthen.

2.5 Total body communication in interaction

2.5.1. The four situations in which external body activities are produced. All activities developed by the human body occur in either of these four situations: interaction, noninteraction, indirect interaction, and environmental interaction.

2.5.1.1. Interaction behaviors may take place with or without awareness on the part of both sender and receiver, even though they are engaged in a personal exchange. You may be carrying out a verbal dialogue and you may be aware of whatever words you or your interlocutor are saying to each other, and the tone in which they are said, just as you follow with your eyes his gestural illustration of a girl's figure, the looping of an airplane, or the heaping dish he put away last night. You reciprocate those linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic acts with other words, other word modifications and non-speech sounds, other kinesic acts and, probably, some meaningful paralinguistic or kinesic pauses. They may all be perfectly conscious bits of behavior. On the other hand, during that same interactive continuum, when he indicated that he was going to tell you about that particular girl and how he had made out the night before, you might have shifted your posture slightly, in readiness to hear what he had to say; or lifted your eyebrows, eyes wide open, while hearing about the airplane looping; or looked fixedly at his hands, which described the heaping dish. And yet the last three behaviors, elicited in you by his own, occurred, most likely, completely out of awareness on your part. Among out-of-awareness interactive behaviors are: posture shifts, eye contact, a great number of paralinguistic phenomena and proxemic variations, all of which, however, help maintain, or break, the flow of interaction.

2.5.1.2. Noninteraction is a situation in which, despite the lack of another interactant and of any external eliciting factors, bodily behaviors are developed which reflect the effect of one's own mental and/or physical activities. Language and paralanguage may occur in dreaming, delirium, praying or soliloquium. Still within acoustic behavior, intestinal sounds and bone sounds, which can be produced intentionally to communicate, happen in noninteraction too. Kinesic activity can be triggered by one's thoughts and conscious or unconscious feelings of restlessness, anxiety, fear, exhilaration, sexual arousal, physiological malfunction, etc. The same feelings can produce various types of secretions, as well as dermal changes, like papillary erection and blushing. On the other hand, those bodily behaviors can be elicited in interaction or in what I call below reduced interaction.

I believe that, although personal interaction is the only context of nonverbal communication with which this book deals, its readers (who, after all, may want to pursue quite different paths in their future research on communication) could enrich their knowledge by trying to discover how and why different forms of bodily behavior occur in the noninteractive situation, their genetic origin versus the learned one, their frequency rate according to sex and age, which ones are common to other animal species and which strictly human, etc.

2.5.1.3. By reduced interaction I mean, as the term implies, the situation in which emission and/or perception of external body behavior is impeded in one or more channels by physical impairment, excessive distance between interactants or a material obstacle. As I indicated in the chart "Total Body Communication," the blind person can communicate through all bodily channels, except visually by means of eye contact, but, not being capable of visual perception, he misses, (a)

gestures, manners and postures, (b) the exact distance from his interactants, which cannot be appreciated by the voice or the odor coming from them, (c) social and psychological static cues, such as body-adaptors, like clothes and jewelry, (d) the exact shape, size and color, and the gait and grooming signs of other people, and (e) whether they shed tears (unless they are accompanied by weeping) or perspire (unless short distance makes it perceptible either olfactorily or through touch). The most important loss is, of course, the kinesic behavior of his interactants, as it can emphasize, illustrate, contradict, or repeat their words or substitute for them, displaying affects not given away verbally and revealing a number of cultural and personality characteristics. However, although blind persons cannot control the communicative consequences of dress style or the color of jewelry, for instance, they can develop an effective kinesic repertoire by using affect-displays, illustrators, self-adaptors, alter-adaptors and object-adaptors.

As for the deaf, the loss of acoustic kinesics and other body sounds cannot compare with his inability to perceive language and paralanguage. Not counting his own sign system, he relies (apart from lip reading) on the kinesic behaviors of his interactants, who usually make an effort to make themselves understood. He can properly interpret common emotional states (happiness, sadness, anger, horror), controlling gestures (stop, come, go, look), gestures describing ordinary objects, and manners and postures identifying certain social and personal relationships. However, gross misunderstandings also occur in the emission and reception of meaning between unimpaired people and deaf or deaf-mute people, that is, in the encoding and decoding of the intended or unintended messages.

Much research can be done, therefore, on the perceptual world, as well as on the emitting possibilities, of both the

blind and the deaf, and on how unimpaired people can enhance their linguistic ability when interacting with the blind person, and substitute for it when interacting with the deaf person. Another interesting instance of reduced interaction takes place in what I have called the invisible dyad, that is, two people communicating verbally by telephone or with a door or wall in between. In such cases we must observe the kind of kinesic behavior that typically goes on as they communicate entirely at the linguistic and paralinguistic levels only, although each one of them can guess what kind of gestures the other person is making at given moments.

2.5.1.4. Finally, I call environmental interaction the one-way active relationship between us and our environment in terms of the behaviors elicited in us by the mere presence and physical characteristics of nature's elements, the exterior and interior spaces we live in, the objects around us, and, in general, by the total surrounding, whether man-shaped or natural. It is a one-way dependence because, although we do not elicit any changes or behaviors with our behavior, we ourselves are definitely affected by those seemingly passive elements. A landscape can induce man's exclamations of wonder, can make him open his arms, or run, in "the great outdoors"; kinesic activity can also be elicited by the large empty room that makes the daydreaming girl dance around it; proxemic changes, by furniture arrangement, the size and shape of a beach or the location of trees in a park. "Wingspread," the unique Wisconsin home by Frank Lloyd Wright at which a 1973 conference on "The Mutual Interaction of People and Their Built Environment" was held, gave me an excellent opportunity to really live that man-environment relationship. As we stepped up or down to different levels on the same floor and walked through narrow, low-ceiling corridors, we were kinesthetically aware of space dimensionality, architectural style and the size of objects, and we could feel better our own comings and goings; intimately related to

this kinesthetic involvement was the equally intense visual experience, since, from different locations in the living room, it was possible to actually look at places and objects upstairs and downstairs, while being aware of architectural design, decorative elements and outside landscaping by means of peripheral vision (the through-the-corner-of-an-eye covering of an angle of 90 degrees on each side). And just as that surrounding affected our walking, our looking around, or our sitting behavior, tactile experience was also elicited by the rough brick walls and by the smoothness of wood panels and large conference tables.

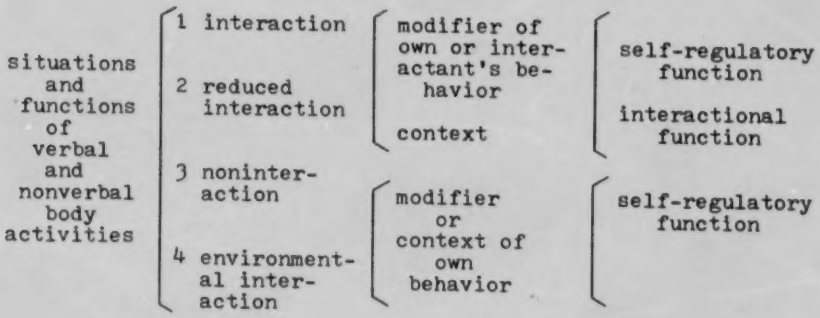
2.6. Functions and coding of verbal and nonverbal behavior

2.6.1. As illustrated in 2.4, when explaining the relationships among body communication forms, each of the bodily activities in interaction and in reduced interaction acts either as modifier of one's own behavior and/or that of our interactant, or simply as context of other concomitant activities; while in noninteraction and in environmental interaction our linguistic, kinesic or proxemic behavior can act as modifier and/or context of only our own behavior.

Both modifiers and contexts can perform one of the two main roles of body behavior in interaction: the self-regulatory function, within one's own repertoire, and the interactional function, between sender and receiver, thus affecting the behavior of the latter. In other words, if you and I are engaged in a conversation, one of my nonverbal activities, for instance, can regulate (and not exactly modify), not only the production of my other verbal and nonverbal activities, in terms of order of occurrence, amount displayed and beginning and end of the display (self-regulatory function), but also your behavior, regulating in this way the flow of our interaction, by means of cues (words, pitch changes, gestures, pauses (which indicate my intention to conclude that conversation, change the subject, contradict or

agree with your words, etc. (interactional function). Of these two functions, the self-regulatory one plays the most important role because, by regulating one's own multiple repertoire, it conditions in turn not only your behaviors, as my interlocutor or interactant, but the smooth or irregular rhythm of the interaction. And, of course, you are producing your own self-regulatory and interactional functions.

According to the material covered in section 2.5 so far, this is a diagram showing the various situations and functions of total body communication which the reader should consider while dealing with linguistic as well as nonlinguistic forms and structures:



2.6.2. As we try to probe in a systematic way into deeper layers of the interactive scene, of how language and the rest of highly communicative forms of bodily behavior actually perform in everyday life as eliciting forces, or simply as context, of human acts, we must necessarily distinguish, for the sake of methodological exactness: first, the correspondence between those acts and their meanings, culturally as well as cross-culturally, and secondly, the various ways in which those consciously or unconsciously emitted and perceived signs are coded.

In the all encompassing science called semiotics (the

study of signs and the conveyance of their meaning) this relationship between the sign and the meaning is called coding, and it consists of two phases: encoding, concerning its emission, and decoding, concerning its reception. In total body communication--simplifying somewhat the schema proposed by authors like Ekman and Friesen (1969)--I would distinguish three types of coding: (a) arbitrary, that is, when the sign bears no resemblance to what it signifies, as it happens with non-onomatopoeic words, an OK gesture, a perfume used for sexual attractiveness; (b) imitative, when the sign does resemble what it means, that is, its significant, as in the case of onomatopoeic words, a threatening fist shaken in front of your face; and (c) intrinsic, when it does not resemble, but is its significant, as it happens if that fist actually hits me, thus being the actual aggression, or a human growl meant as such, or the kinesic imitation of someone else's gestures.

As for the capacity of the meaning itself to be agreed upon by a greater or smaller number of senders (encoding) and receivers (decoding), one must differentiate between: shared, when it is common to a series of individuals, to the members of a whole culture, to several cultures, or universal (a cry of horror), and idiosyncratic, whether recurrent or not, when the association of the sign and its meaning is peculiar only to a single individual. As idiosyncratic encoding, one person may perform a gesture, for instance, with a specific meaning only for himself; as idiosyncratic decoding, another gesture, or a voice modification, can be interpreted by one individual only, as it happens, for instance, within a family, where only the wife may be able to understand some of her husband's gestures and other behaviors. There are acts, however, which can be intentionally or unintentionally encoded, that is, produced, but never decoded by anyone, and I call this situation zero decoding. Those body behaviors with

shared encoded and decoded meaning constitute, therefore, the accepted repertoire which typifies a group or a culture. The degree of idiosyncracy or shareness can vary considerably, and it is clear that the ideally effective behavior in interaction is the one shared by as many individuals as possible, and that pan-cultural behaviors should be differentiated from national ones, since ignoring this differentiation may result, as explained in the previous chapter, in a cultural clash and in failure to communicate.

Although I use the differentiation made by Ekman and Friesen between informative (as unintentional) and communicative (as intentional), rather than applying the term informative to the idiosyncratically decoded meaning only, I utilize it more freely, not necessarily implying that the body behavior in question is decoded by only one receiver, as they do. On the other hand, I apply this term, as unintentional, to the encoding process as well, as opposed to the intentional or communicative act. Furthermore, I also apply the term communicative to an act not necessarily conveying information. In addition, the fact that the behavior of an interactant does not have clear interactive consequences does not preclude its effect on the sender's behavior (self-regulatory function) and eventually on the receiver's.

I will diagram the above as follows:

sign-meaning relationship		capacity of meaning for coding	
Coding of body behavior	arbitrary	encoding	idiosyncratic
			shared
	imitative	decoding	idiosyncratic
	intrinsic		shared
			zero

2.7. The categories of nonverbal behavior in interaction

2.7.1. So far I have been referring to interaction as the active situation, or series of situations, in which the verbal and nonverbal activities produced by man as an organism are developed in the interpersonal give-and-take which characterizes a living culture. The mutual caressing of two people in love, the politician's speech and his audience's reaction, the teacher-student rapport or lack of it, the deafmutes' exchange of hand and face gestures, the psychiatrist's interview with his patient; in sum, any of the two-way incidents in which humans (or humans and nonhumans for that matter) are engaged when sending and receiving messages through different types of sensorially apprehended signs, is an interactional event.

If we referred to speaker and listener, as is customary in linguistic or linguistically oriented works, we would be taking a rather unrealistic stand, but when we call them sender and receiver, or co-interactants, we are acknowledging all the communicative channels made possible, in different degrees of communicative status, by the human animal's body, and their interrelationship, as it was outlined before. When defining the strictly fully interactive situation, I suggested the basic fact that any behaviors displayed consciously or unconsciously in co-presence, even random ones, play a specific role; they elicit or not subsequent behaviors from either interactor, and, therefore, condition the structuration of that behavioral exchange. Which means that one should seek certain interactive categories within or beyond the basic functions differentiated earlier (modifiers, contexts, self-regulatory, and interactional).

Ekman and Friesen (1969) established five categories of nonverbal behavior, but by nonverbal they referred to "any movement of the face and/or the body." As this term does not have to be exclusive of kinesics, and since the communicative

roles distinguished in their scheme are perfectly common to other verbal and nonverbal systems, I am adopting them in a way applicable to all forms of what I have been calling total body communication, with a few modifications. It is, therefore, a way of systematically calling each act of behavior by its own name, even though in many instances a single act may pertain to characteristics represented by two different categories. Later, once we are able to identify them as such, we must see how they can function in the actual interactive situation, as, for instance, turn signals or feedback activities and their relationship in terms of both temporal coincidence and meaning.

2.7.2. Emblems, the first of the five categories, have been defined as nonverbal acts which have a direct verbal translation or dictionary definition (such as a hand gesture meaning "OK"). But we can apply this term to other body acts whose meaning may be coded as arbitrary (an "OK" hand gesture), imitative (a paralinguistic hissing to signify the passing of a fast car), or intrinsic (a friendly slap on someone's back), and which may have an agreed-upon meaning (a throat-cutting gesture, an intimate distance reached as a sexual overture), while the meaning of others may have an idiosyncratic level (an ill-mannered youth may signify hostility towards his classmates by belching noisily). In other words, in order to study nonverbal communication in a systematic fashion and within a specific framework we can begin by distinguishing emblems as cultural or individual substitutes of, or alternatives to, verbal expression, whether a word or a sentence.

2.7.3. The second category of nonverbal acts is that of illustrators, defined by Ekman and Friesen as movements which illustrate what is being said verbally, but under which we can also comprehend, not only the kinesic repertoire simultaneous with speech, but any bodily behavior used mostly

intentionally to imitate or represent a sound (the roaring of a motor), a shape (the curvaceous girl), a movement (the scratching of a monkey), a size ("This big"), even the intangible, with sensorially perceptible signs (bad odor by pincing one's nostrils, a fragrant one by inhaling with eyes closed, the concept "wonderful" by opening one's arms), or to emphasize a particular word (by drawing closer to the other subject, for instance).

Although most illustrators fall within kinesics because the functions just mentioned are carried out by body movements and positions, blushing, for example, may emphasize in an "illustrative" way a feeling of embarrassment, just as tears accent emotion. Naturally, the two categories outlined so far overlap in certain forms of bodily communication. Drawing a woman's body in the air is both an emblem with an agreed-upon meaning and an illustrator of the feminine shape.

2.7.4. Affect-displays constitute the third category of nonverbal behaviors (also represented by language itself). According to Ekman and Friesen, they repeat, qualify or contradict a lexically stated affect, either accompanying it or replacing it, and may convey not only the primary affects they suggest (happiness, surprise, fear, sadness, anger, disgust, and interest), but what they call affect-blends, or multiple emotions, shown mainly through certain kinesic and paralinguistic constructs, almost always out of awareness. For instance, an apico-alveolar click linked to a sigh may reveal a complex and conflictive mixture of affects which in fact appears duplicated by the concomitant facial expression. But, again, this category may overlap with the first two. The apico-alveolar click of regret or disappointment, an emblem with an agreed-upon meaning, is also an affect-display. The "illustration" of a woman's body can be also not only an affect-display, but, in its basic form, an emblem with shared encoded and decoded meaning.

2.7.5. The next category is formed by the so-called regulators, or bodily acts responsible for the smooth or irregular flow of the interactive behaviors, of whatever kind, and not necessarily of the "speaking" and "listening" between interactants, as Ekman and Friesen put it.

Interactional turn-signals (claiming, yielding the turn, etc.) do not occur only in verbal exchange, but in paralanguage, kinesics and proxemics, and even through tactile and kinesthetic perception of the signals, as in loveplay. Even more bodily acts can function as feedback cues, thus regulating or conditioning the direction of the interactive flow. Those cues may concern our own behavior (we recognize our blushing as caused by our, or someone else's, behavior), or the behavior of our interactants (someone's nareal ingression communicates his amused attention, so I go on with the story). Other cues which usually regulate the interaction are: perspiration due to nervousness, skin temperature and irregular breathing between two people engaged in sexual play, postural shifts indicating lack of attention, tiredness, great interest, etc.

2.7.6. Finally adaptors, the most complex category of nonverbal behaviors, falls entirely within kinesics, as it involves different types of movements, even in the case of what I shall call body-adaptors (clothes, tobacco, jewelry, etc.), which can be studied both as static cues and as basic elements for kinesic acts. It comprises four clearly differentiated groups: self-adaptors, alter-adaptors, object-adaptors, and body-adaptors.

Self-adaptors are contact movements or positions of any parts of the body which can reach other parts or areas, but involving mainly the hands. They can be genetically inherited, or learned even to conform to certain rules of etiquette, and they can be encoded and decoded as emblems (index finger circling in front of temple) or as affect-displays (wringing

hands), or simply as gestures, manners and postures in anyone's repertoire. The self-adaptors to which I would like to call the reader's attention are those which (a) facilitate or block sensorial input (hand-by-ear to listen better, nose-pincing to avoid bad odors), (b) display affective states (holding one's head in despair), (c) hide or repress those states (covering one's eyes when crying, pincing one's nose to muffle weeping), (d) facilitate and/or dissimulate some bodily functions and excretions (when sneezing, blowing one's nose, urinating), (e) try to assuage physical pain (holding one's stomach, grabbing a bruised toe), (f) groom one's body (smoothing back one's hair, washing one's hands), and (g) perform certain autoerotic activities. As anyone knows, people, depending on individual sensitiveness and upbringing, tend to make certain self-adaptors as inconspicuous as possible. Those self-adaptors are usually not looked at or commented upon, while others are not tolerated in front of others under normal circumstances.

Like other bodily behaviors, self-adaptors can be intimately related to language and paralanguage, as well as to other nonverbal acts. While holding one's head in despair one may speak in a hoarse voice, breathe audibly, etc.; covering one's mouth while yawning gives voice a characteristic resonance; a woman may flirtatiously speak to a man in a moany tone of voice while smoothing back her hair.

Alter-adaptors can be, in the first place, movements similar to some of the self-adaptors, but applied to another person, and I would like to emphasize their great importance in the linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic complex and their interrelationship with those communicative systems as what I called earlier self-regulatory functions. Movements directed to another person, which involve mainly the hands, may result in touching, grabbing, slapping, etc., but sometimes they are performed only in space, as in threatening gestures.

Alter-adaptors are used to: (a) give to, or take from, another person, (b) attack or prevent someone else from attacking (hitting someone and then holding his arm to avoid his punch), (c) protect someone from physical pain, or to mitigate his grief, (d) maintain a necessary physical proximity in special circumstances (walking hand-in-hand in the street, or carrying children), (e) show affection and intimacy (grabbing someone's arm while speaking, shoulder-patting, kissing, embracing, walking holding each other), (f) establish sexual contact (hand-holding, kissing, petting), (g) establish and perform ultimate sexual relations, and (h) nurse, comfort or groom someone.

Within object-adaptors, that is, movements in which our body becomes in contact mostly with our own cultural artifacts, one could distinguish: (a) those which perform a task (handling a gun, eating with knife and fork, twirling a baton, using a pen), from those which perform a seemingly purposeless activity, revealing (b) a strong affective state or simple tension (biting a pencil, fidgeting with buttons, turning a hat in one's hands), (c) an out-of-awareness tic (touching one's marriage ring with the thumb, fidgeting with bread crumbs), and (d) a conscious or unconscious social habit (gesticulating with a pipe, handling a cigarette with a particular style, using one's glasses as a conversational instrument, tapping on the desk or on a bar counter while looking around).

Finally, I would like to refer to body-adaptors as a small but important series of movements involving those objects which we tend to treat as part of our own bodies (and to which I have also applied the same term), such as clothes, wigs, glasses, bags, and jewelry. Part of our repertoire of kinesic behavior consists of movements in which the hands come in contact with such objects, or postural behaviors conditioned by them. Furthermore, body-adaptors can condition

paralanguage and language, as when a woman speaks with a chosen vocabulary and a flirtatious tone of voice while fidgeting with her necklace and sliding it through her parted lips.

It is interesting, then, to differentiate: (a) those used in preening behavior (involving ties, clothes, earrings, necklaces, hairpins, bracelets, rings); (b) when some of those are displayed as conscious or unconscious social habits (stretching the glove on one hand with the other, rolling a necklace around one finger, making rings and bracelets conspicuous); (c) movements performed to protect oneself against inclemencies (putting on gloves in the cold, holding a hat down in the wind, holding a coat's collar against one's face); and (d) movements performed in the handling of food (either with the hands or with the appropriate utensils) and drink.

I must emphasize the great importance of adaptors as nonverbal acts performed either independently from language or simultaneously with it. As suggested in the Experiences and Field-Work Projects, it is possible to study adaptors within the expressive repertoire of a given individual, of a family, and of a culture or subculture. The reader should try to use as subjects his own students, classmates, friends and occasional acquaintances, trying to compare, when possible, the Anglo-Saxon with the Spanish, the Italians, the Slavics or the Orientals. A proper knowledge of alter-adaptors, for instance, in different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including the reader's own, is indispensable for true understanding and communication, as different peoples display different repertoires, which, naturally, is closely related to proxemics, also extremely important in a cross-cultural perspective of nonverbal communication.

2.8. Maintaining the flow of verbal and nonverbal interaction

2.8.1. I hope to have demonstrated that a living culture is a dynamic continuum shaped at many different levels by a series of interrelated behaviors which can be approached systematically through the study of individual culturemes. Further, I tried to show that most of those communicative activities (of which verbal language is the undisputable core) originate in the human body and perform specific functions in personal interaction (modifier or context, self-regulatory or interactional), indicating how the meaning of those activities, developed by us in everyday social contacts, can be transformed into signals (encoded) and interpreted (decoded) in ways so different that these two processes account for the understanding or misunderstanding and miscommunication between individuals and between cultures. Those elements, plus the several categories or verbal and nonverbal behaviors differentiated in the previous section, are the constituents of interaction.

In this section, diagrammed in Fig. 4, I would like to concentrate on what one could think of as the anatomy of conversation, that is, the most complex and activity-generating form of personal interaction, and the research topic that deserves the most attention on the part of linguistics and other disciplines, not only within a single culture but cross-culturally (Poyatos, 1975b).

It would be appropriate at this point to complete the comments made on the diagram in Fig. 1, just to indicate in passing the various forms of communication that can be thought of as interactive:

(a) direct interaction, either truly face-to-face (also called co-presence) encounters, of which conversation is the main form in any culture, or reduced interaction; the latter takes place when deaf, deafmute, blind, or (if we think of kinesic behavior) maimed and crippled interactants are

involved, when a physical obstacle impedes full verbal and nonverbal exchange, as when talking from adjoining rooms, or in a telephone conversation (during which, quite typically, kinesic behavior continues to be co-structured with the linguistic-paralinguistic stream, a fact that corroborates the coherence of the basic triple structure); and

(b) delayed interaction, but still personal, as in epistolary communication; back-and-forth written exchanges are actually a form of interaction, in spite of constituting a greatly reduced one, since mental activities are elicited which result in an exchange of thoughts that can even elicit various types of behavior.

These are, then, the ways in which humans can develop whatever behaviors are anthroponemically possible; in other words, those I have subsumed earlier under total body communication, each of which, as will be seen, may function either as modifier of our other behaviors or our interactant's, or simply as context of other concomitant activities in the multi-repertoire of either one. In turn, both modifying and contextual behaviors may act either as self-regulators within one's own repertoire or as interactional agents between sender and receiver (feedback cues, pauses, etc.).

2.8.2. I will now try to offer a tentative schema of the mechanism of conversation, in which verbal and nonverbal behaviors should be understood as integrated in the real interactive situation. But I must specify that I am concentrating on what I have distinguished as topical conversation, that is, the average living room or business encounter centering around at least one topic, which is developed at some length; as differentiated from the brief encounter, or the negotiating of a short dyadic transaction, such as ordering food, purchasing a ticket, or checking in at a hotel, which shows a much more limited display of floor-holding turns and behavioral cues.

A conversation--the topic of this paper--must be understood, then, as an interactive encounter, whether face-to-face or reduced, constituted by a series of participatory, or floor-holding, sequences between two or more interactants. According to the accompanying chart "Verbal and Nonverbal Expression in Interaction: Basic Features" (Fig. 4), its structuration and segmentation can be carried out by means of the unit which Duncan and others have called turn. The resulting turn apportioning takes place between sender and receiver (also called speaker and listener, or auditor, although these terms may suggest a limitation of communicational channels),[5] both of which display, in addition: certain simultaneous behaviors, different types of pauses or breaks in one or more channels (but not all) at specific points, a series of behaviors displayed only by the speaker or sender, and others which are displayed only by the receiver or auditor, the last two occurring within single floor-holding sequences, or between sequences.

I will follow the chart, defining each of the behaviors that make up the mechanism of conversational interaction and giving some examples of the verbal and nonverbal cues with which they are conveyed.

2.8.3. Turn rules, consciously or unconsciously observed, are the basis of conversation and serve to maintain a smooth interactive flow by dictating when exactly each participant is to become speaker or auditor, this order being sometimes altered when that change is jeopardized by two sorts of counter-rules, turn holding and claim suppressing.

Spontaneous initial turn taking (1A, 1B) is a typical situation I have not seen discussed in the existing literature, on the part of one or more participants. Unless simultaneous turns continue after a first attempt, only one participant takes the floor, the others' attempt resulting in failed spontaneous (i.e. initial) turn taking. Signals, as

with other interactive behaviors discussed hereafter, are conveyed through verbal and nonverbal cues:

Lg: "Well," or any sentence beginning. Pg: Pre-speech apico-alveolar click [tz']. K: According to the type of message to be conveyed. Px: Approaching the other interactant, changing orientation.

Turn claiming (2), shown, under normal circumstances, when the listener thinks that he wants, or must say something, that the speaker held the floor long enough, or when the latter indicates that he is willing to relinquish his turn:

Lg: "Well--," "Yeah," "but--," "I--." Pg: Pre-speech click + pre-speech inspiration (and/or out-in tongue-tip movement). K: Raised brows (low for disappointment, sadness) and/or raised hand, posture shift, long eye contact with speaker + slight smile, lip moistening, out-in tongue-tip movement. Px: Social-to-personal/personal-to-intimate shift, reorientation.

Turn yielding (3), when the speaker feels that he has spoken long enough, when his interlocutor shows neither interest nor knowledge of the subject, when he does not seem to claim the floor, or when he claims it, or just takes it (through a brief simultaneous turn or overlapping).

Lg: "Yes," "Go ahead," self-interrupted sentence, falling/rising terminal juncture. Pg: Clipping final syllable, or drawling it emphatically, long conclusive pharyngeal ingression. K: Nod, raised brows, offering hand palm up and/or smiling, crossing arms and/or sitting back, relaxing posture. Px: Retreating slightly if standing, changing orientation.

Turn taking (4), when the listener takes the floor after the speaker shows his willingness to relinguish his turn, or when his turn claiming failed and he just decides to take it (through the simultaneous turn mentioned above, or claiming

and taking rapidly following each other):

Lg: "No, I was gonna say that--," "Yeah," "Well," "Uh--," Pg: Pre-speech click, throat clearing and/or pre-speech pharyngeal ingression. K: Lip moistening (+pre-speech click), posture shift, thankful nod, taking off glasses (object adaptor), expelling smoke quickly before speaking. Px: Approaching interactant (personal-to-intimate), holding his arm.

Turn holding (3B), or attempt-suppressing (Duncan, 1972), on the part of the speaker beyond what is felt to be the limit (according to contextual situation), either by suppressing the listener's claiming repeatedly or by indicating his intention to go on.

Lg: "Wait," "Let me finish." Pg: Long pre-speech pharyngeal ingression and/or pre-speech click, raising voice volume to overpower the listener, an ingression-filled pause (after a rising terminal juncture). K: Domineering gesticulation, "stop" gestures, reaching for the listener's arm. Px: Invading the listener's intimate area each time he claims the turn.

Claim suppressing (5A, 5B) (Duncan, 1973a) is the second counterrule that should be analyzed as an important element in conversation, since it differs from turn holding in that it can be displayed, not only by the speaker holding the floor, but any of the auditors, other than the one claiming the turn:

Lg: "Let him finish," "Wait," "Listen." Pg: Apico-alveolar click. K: "Stop" gestures, postural shifts, Px: Holding the claimer's arm, or advancing towards him.

Both claim suppressing and turn holding are subject to strong personality variables and to culture-specific styles of interaction.

2.8.4. Simultaneous behaviors. If the turn-changing rules and their two counterrules occurred always in an orderly fashion, that is, if participants claimed, yielded and took their turns at the appropriate moment--from the structural

point of view--, a conversation would be unrealistically smooth--from the sociopsychological point of view--, possible only in a very protocolarian encounter. However, it seems that in all cultures and social contexts certain situations occur, in the course of a conversational encounter, in which at least two participants become engaged in the same activity at the same time. Besides simultaneous speaking about the topic, other simultaneous behaviors, like the ones I indicate below, should be analyzed if one is to achieve an exhaustive knowledge of the linguistic and nonlinguistic structuration of conversation.

Simultaneous turns (Duncan, 1973a, 1973b), a more accurate term than simultaneous speech, if we think of the simultaneous signalling of deafmutes or of some other forms of reduced interaction, is a peculiar situation that deserves much investigation from the linguistic, sociopsychological and cultural points of view. It is certainly one of the causes for intercultural clash between Anglo-Saxons and Latins, for instance (but not between Latins and Arabs, both of whom possess the same tendency to simultaneous floor-holding behaviors); and it is characterized--from the linguistic point of view--by syntactical disorder and word repetition, when speaker B does not address speaker A necessarily, but speaker A's listener(s), until speaker A stops paying attention to his interlocutor, who then gives up and relinquishes his turn.

Although, in general, this situation is not acceptable and cannot be maintained for too long, it can be treated quite differently according to the culture of the participants (something to be measured by its duration and the intensity of the activities involved, as I will indicate below). While in the Anglo-Saxon world we try to avoid simultaneous talking from the moment this situation is initiated, by apologizing for the intrusion ("Sorry," "No, go ahead,"

"That's alright," while smiling), and speaker B justifying it once more ("No, I was just gonna say--")--in which case simultaneous talking lasts no more than a few seconds--, Spaniards, for instance, break the turn-taking rules much more conspicuously.

Simultaneous conclusion is an interesting variation of the simultaneous turn, which should also be studied within the auditor's exclusive behaviors. Some people are in the bad but hardly controllable habit of saying with you, in a duo, the last sentence, or sentences, of each main portion of your own speech, which they anticipate but cannot keep for themselves.

Simultaneous turn claiming may occur without hardly causing any simultaneous turns. Two or more interactants may gaze at each other, while perhaps inhaling and/or clicking, seeking acknowledgment of their claims, until only one of them manages to overpower both the speaker and the other claimers; which results, therefore, in a sort of undue turn taking, or abrupt interruption, anticipated by clipped words and paralinguistic and kinesic signals.

Likewise, simultaneous yielding may originate within simultaneous floor holding, when two or more conversants suddenly try to control their rule-breaking behavior at the same time and come to a stop, producing one of the interactive pauses, resolved with the usual linguistic and nonlinguistic yielding cues.

2.8.5. Interactional pauses are, besides the one produced by simultaneous yielding:

Failed turn taking, as a consequence of the simultaneous yielding, during which mutual gazing and verbal ("Well--," "I--"), paralinguistic ("Tz," ingression, throat clearing), kinesic (posture shifts) and proxemic behaviors (reorientation) take place.

Failed turn claiming may also occur if the speaker closes

his turn, or has to continue upon noticing his auditor's failure to claim the floor (due to shyness, bewilderment, etc.), and then resumes his speech, even changing his topic.

Turn-opening pause is the one contained between the turn-taking "Well--," "Tz" plus ingression, or postural shift, and the actual beginning of the "speaker state" (Duncan, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c).

The transitional pause may occur between different topics (or simply between turns), and although it may also be due to psychological variables, it seems to be differently regulated according to the interactants' socioeconomic status (educational level, socializing capacity, etc.):

Lg: "Well--," "So--." Pg: Different types of laughter, lip smacking, apico-alveolar click ["Tz"]. K: Posture shift, slapping one's knees, joining both hands. Px: Slow distance shifting. Others: Object-adaptors (a drink, a pipe, imaginary lint, a necklace), self-adaptors (preening behaviors, hand rubbing), dermal changes (blushing).

Hesitation pause, due to a break in one's train of thought, or to negative auditor's feedback, takes different forms according to sex, personality and other factors, and is shown by a number of characteristic verbal and nonverbal cues:

Lg: "and uh--," "Well--," curtailed words, "Er--yes." Pg: Stammering, "Tz," audible pharyngeal ingression, throat clearing. K: Raising index and middle fingers to lips, pincing nose, gaze vaguely fixed on floor, on the ceiling, or on a point in infinity, touching one's brows with thumb and middle finger, scratching one's head, arms akimbo while looking down, crossing arms tightly while looking down.

Feedback-seeking pause is the one shown mainly by staring at the other interactant(s), lips parted perhaps, perhaps smiling, or frowning at suspected failure; out-in tongue-tip movement; or the more showy pause displayed, as part of his repertoire, by a comedian, who does it more consciously: both

hands on his chest sometimes, or arms akimbo (or loosely flexed) and hanging over the sides, or open as in a come-on gesture.

Turn-ending pause is the one shown by a post-speech click ("Tz," as the pre-speech one), a pharyngeal ingression, the visually perceived intake of breath, a that's-all gesture, a posture shift, etc.

The matter of pauses, of which I have just indicated the most salient instances, is a much more complex one than it appears at first sight, and have their own internal structure.

Furthermore, just as we seek linguistic pauses because we recognize, in the first place, a linguistic continuum which is broken at different points in conversation, we must also acknowledge the interrelated kinesic and proxemic syntactical arrangements and their other nonverbal "punctuating" or reinforcing activities, such as blushing, goose flesh, tears and perspiration, and the degree in which they take place.

In connection with the last thought and with the obvious internal organization of pauses, I would like to suggest that there seems to be two basic measurable qualities that affect not only the communicative functions of simultaneous behaviors, but even more pauses: intensity and duration:

(a) intensity--akin to linguistic stress and to articulatory tension--in paralanguage (the tension of a nareal egression of contempt, of an apico-alveolar click of hesitation), in kinesics (tense or lax movements), in the amount of secretions (visible tears, heavy or slight perspiration), the degree of blushing (which may act as a strong regulator of behaviors), or the tension of object-adaptor behaviors (the silence-filling handling of a pipe);

(b) duration, a more obvious quality of every communicative activity, from clipped or drawled words and sighs to handshakes with perfectly encoded and decoded meanings.

2.8.6. Within-turn signals is a term I borrowed from Duncan (1973a) to subsume a series of behaviors, on the part of either speakers or auditors, which further complement their turn mechanism by providing information on the development of the encounter, that is, on the smooth or irregular flow of it and on the success, or failure, of the intentionally or unintentionally emitted messages. They should be differentiated, therefore, from signals displayed between turns or during pauses.

2.8.6.1. The receiver's behaviors are the most important activities happening during interactive turns--apart from their basic rules--, as they provide the sender or speaker with information on his own performance and on the receiver's reaction to it. In other words, the success or failure of the transaction depends not only upon the topic and the speaker's correct or incorrect use of certain rules and cues, but upon the listener's exclusive behaviors, particularly those that can be subsumed under feedback (Argyle, 1967, 1969, 1972); also called accompaniment behavior (Kendon, 1967), back-channel communication (Yngve, 1970; Duncan, 1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1974), and listener's response (Dittman, 1973).

2.8.6.1.1. By feedback behaviors--which I would like to distinguish from other receiver's activities--I understand those that necessarily must be displayed intermittently by listeners (if the mechanism of conversation is to be developed normally), who provide evidence that they are actually listening, that they agree or disagree, like it or dislike it, but who do something. Nobody can take utter silence for too long ("Well, say something!," "Well, don't just stand there!"). Even in what earlier I called the invisible dyad, as in a telephone conversation, the listener, who is perceived only acoustically, must time his silences and provide the other party with feedback cues like "Uh-huh," "Yeah," "Sure," "Okay"

and the like at regular intervals, or he will provoke the speaker's feedback request ("Hello?", "Are you there?"). In other words, the receiver's feedback is the only truly permissible and desirable type of simultaneous action, whether verbal or nonverbal. It can be diagrammed as follows:

	Basic Expected Feedback Cues			Other cues
	Attention Inattention	Interest Disinterest	Approval Disapproval	Pleasure - Displeasure Surprise Anticipation Happiness - Unhappiness Anger Disappointment Disgust Fear Doubt Realization Embarrassment Dissimulation etc.
Silence Language Para- language Kinesics Proxemics Others				

I will comment on just a few:

Attention-Inattention is the first reaction a speaker looks for or apprehends from his auditors, and it is the indispensable feedback expected in a classroom, in the family living room, and even from a public audience; although, depending on etiquette rules and other circumstances, not all its forms are permissible in every context:

Silence: Filled with fixed gaze, directed either at the speaker or at no specific point, for both attention and inattention (although the auditor gives away his inattention by fixing his look "in mid air" between his eyes and the speaker's). Lg: "Sure," "Oh" with rising pitch, for attention; "Oh" with falling pitch, and an unspirited "What?" for inattention. Pg: "Uh-uh" and its closed-lip variant "Mm-hm" for attention; an unspirited single-pitched "Mm?" for inattention. K: the only type of forms permitted in certain situations, as

when one is part of an audience (head nods, postural shifts, smiles, eye contact, hand-to-chin, crossing arms, for attention; a blank gaze added to head nods and smiles, or using object-adaptors and self-adaptors, for inattention). Px: Pulling up a chair closer to the speaker, for attention; reorientation away from him, for inattention.

Interest-Disinterest cues are equally sought by some speakers, and they are, in general, variations of attention-inattention cues, mostly by means of paralinguistically drawled and high-pitched final syllables: "Oh!", "Is that so?", "I see!") for interest, or by pronouncing the same utterances rather unspiritedly, that is, with rather level junctures. K: More frequent nodding than for attention cues, perhaps accompanied by intermittent blinking and frequent and more prolongated eye contact, and by a posture shift at the beginning of the speaker's turn and at important points in his speech, for interest; restless, or quite unchanged postural behavior, for disinterest, or open negative gesturing in some contexts. Px: As for attention-inattention.

2.8.6.1.2. In addition to feedback signals proper, the speaker's turn, that is, his own verbal and nonverbal activities, can also be regulated and timed by the following auditor's within-turn behaviors:

Request for clarification (permissible in most contexts other than very formal ones, or from an audience). Lg: "I beg your pardon?", "Richard who?", "What's that?". Pg: "Mm?" K: Frowning while gazing at the speaker, cupping one's ear with one hand as if to hear better (also used for requesting higher volume).

Request for higher volume, permissible in most contexts, expressed either verbally ("Louder!", "We can't hear you!"), or kinesically (with an upward palm-up movement of the hand, or the hand-to-ear gesture).

Verbatim repetition of the speaker's last statement is

an auditor's termination of the speaker's turn (since he speaks the last word) that some might dismiss as an obvious reaction out of amusement, mockery, etc., but socioculturally relevant when it is observed as a basic reaction of the rural uneducated listener, for instance, toward his educated or uneducated speaker, as is the case in Spain (therefore an interesting element in a cross-cultural study of interaction).

Re-statement, reported by Duncan as "brief restatement," as the case in which "the auditor restates in a few words an immediately preceding thought expressed by the speaker" (1973a).

Simultaneous conclusion, mentioned in 2.8.4. as one of the possible simultaneous behaviors in conversation, can express the speaker's idea with almost identical or identical words, and is called "sentence completion" by Duncan (1973a).

Prompting signals, by means of which listeners can prevent the speaker from saying the wrong thing, or may ask him to introduce someone he was supposed to introduce, or remind him of something he is supposed to say (mainly by gestures, accompanied perhaps by paralinguistic clicks and audible breath intakes).

2.8.6.2. Sender's within-turn behaviors are activities displayed by the speaker or sender while he is holding the floor, and they seem to create a higher degree of integration (i.e. structuration) between he and his cointeractant(s). Within these signals it is possible to differentiate two well self-defined types:

2.8.6.2.1. Sender's counterfeedback, which is conveyed by cues that serve as feedback to the auditor's own feedback, is an important complement to the analysis of the receiver's basic feedback. For the formal study of the sender's counterfeedback one could expand the table offered in 2.8.6.1.1, adding to each form of feedback channel (i.e. silence, language, etc.) and to each different cue the corresponding forms and cues on the part of the sender.

Counterfeedback for interest, for example, can be expressed through repetition of a successful statement and/or a brief pause, in which case the auditor's (or audience's) interest is confirmed by silence (therefore another type of pause. Slight or broad smiles and a whole repertoire of conscious signals are a most effective part of the politician's campaign. In any case, proper counterfeedback may elicit still more auditor's feedback and achieve mounting results.

Counterfeedback for anger at what the speaker said or did may reveal more anger, or perhaps fear, which in turn will elicit other auditor's reactions, i.e. feedback, and so on. In fact, a detailed analysis of a complex encounter will show the specific points at which, and the specific cues with which, the outcome of that encounter was anticipated and developed. On the other hand, some interesting conclusions would be arrived to by studying the many verbal and nonverbal counterfeedback cues, and how they correspond to the same channels used by the receiver, or to different ones.

2.8.6.2.2. Finally, it is not possible to comprehend the true mechanism of personal interaction without complementing the study of the receiver's behaviors with that of the sender's behaviors within his own turn. As sender's within-turn secondary behaviors, should be included:

Turn opening, after the turn has been relinquished by the previous speaker. The new one uses "Well--," the typical pre-speech inspiration and an apico-alveolar click, perhaps throat clearing (the degree and recurrency of which are subject, throughout the interactive mechanism, to different psychological variables), posture shift, reorientation and, in specific cases, blushing blended with hesitation cues.

Turn pre-closing, indicated, after having technically relinquished the floor, by accelerated tempo, postural shift, and gaze directed to the auditor.

Turn closing, indicated by relaxation of the posture,

lip moistening, and other idiosyncratic or cultural behaviors.

The matter of closing and opening can be analyzed, not just in relation to turns, but to the different topics within the same encounter, and to the conversation as a whole. What earlier I indicated as spontaneous initial turn taking is one of the typical behaviors complementary to certain pre-opening activities, such as furniture arrangement ("Pull up a chair"), postural patterning, eye contact, mutual offering of cigarettes or drinks, etc.; and what Schegloff and Sacks (1973) have studied as "opening up closings" offers new insights into the terminating structure of encounters.

Claim suppressing, discussed in 3.3 as one of the two basic counterrules, is of course another receiver's within-turn behavior.

Intimacy, finally, would be perhaps classifiable as affiliation vs. aggression, and any other affective states revealed through these secondary activities. It has, however, a number of interesting forms ultimately conveyed by means of more or less subtle, but clearly regulated, cues: bisexual, heterosexual, false intimacy, intimacy out of adulation, or fear; and these cues are perceived in the choice of words and intonation, through gaze (Kendon, 1967; Argyle and Dean, 1965; Argyle et al, 1973), and proxemic and tactile behaviors.

2.8.7. After discussing the basic mechanism of interaction one must admit that the most ordinary family conversation is an extremely complex mesh of verbal and nonverbal activities developed through time and space, and that for any encounter to be a successful one (that is, in order to carry out the proper distribution of turns, turn signals, feedback cues and auditor's behaviors) and in order to say and do precisely the appropriate thing and no other, it needs: (a) some sort of synchronization, so that turns are claimed, yielded and taken within a given time margin, smiles and nods

shown at specific moments, eye contact established neither below nor above certain limits, posture shifted at the right moment according to the structure of the encounter; (b) certain equilibrium between, for instance, the time taken by each speaker as well as for listening, or between the nonverbal behaviors displayed by an interactor and the ones displayed by another, in terms of amount, intensity and style; and (c) a reasonable amount of flexibility, which actually subsumes all other requirements for a successful interaction. Tnis ability to adapt one's communicative repertoire (topic, vocabulary, paralanguage, kinesics, etc.) to that of the person we are dealing with should be considered from two different but interrelated angles. One is the socioeconomic one, as the more educated people may wish to speak and act like their less educated cointeractants, either to pretend friendliness or to sincerely behave at their own level. The other one is a sociopsychological point of view, subject to personality characteristics and to social upbringing mainly; for example, when interacting with children one uses the appropriate topics, vocabulary, paralanguage and kinesics, just as we modify our repertoire when conversing with a nurse, a janitor, a judge, a shy person, or a very old one. Flexibility, or the lack of it, is most obvious in the intercultural encounter, and people, from diplomats to ordinary tourists, must try to give up some of their communicative habits when confronted with members of another culture, who not only speak another language, but use it differently, combine it with peculiar silences and paralinguistic features, move, sit, and stand in a different way in certain situations, and use space and time in ways that can be even offensive to the inflexible or unprepared foreigner. On the other hand, intercultural interaction does not take place in a foreign land only, but right in New York City for Americans, in Montreal for Canadians, or in any community where there are families

from different ethnic backgrounds. If the Anglo-Saxon who has spent an enjoyable evening with an Italian family, for instance, but later feels more at home among "his own people," could analyze that feeling, he would find that it was not caused only by a difference in "life style" and "ways of thinking," but because interaction was conducted differently too, because turns, turn signals and feedback cues were distributed and used in a way somewhat unfamiliar to him, and because the participants at times lacked synchronization, equilibrium and enough flexibility.

2.9. The conditioning background of total body communication

After discussing the nature, forms and mechanism of total body communication, I would like, before concentrating on paralanguage and other basic systems, to close this chapter by outlining what in the first chart, "Total Body Communication," or in any other diagrammatic representation of communication systems, is suggested as Biophysicopsychological and Sociogeographical-economic Conditioning Background.

The mere acknowledgment of all body communicative phenomena cannot reach formal scientific standards without attempting to analyze in some depth the extremely complex mesh of conditioning variables to which our behaviors are bound. Whether or not we attempt to fathom the real background of those behaviors, we must agree that each form of body communication, each single act, whether intentionally communicative (a verbal negation, an emotional contact with another body) or unintentionally informative (a hesitation pause, a feedback cue of dissimulation), is somehow, at each occurrence, conditioned by those variables.

Let us take postural behavior. From the biophysicopsychological point of view, posture is conditioned by: (a) sex, as revealed in woman's or man's sitting habits, or in the way they stand; (b) age, as a child does not show the same postural habits as an older person, or a very old one; (c)

somatogenic or hereditary factors, affecting kinesic behavior; (d) the present physiological state, since any momentary malfunction may alter postural patterns; (e) the state of health, clearly having the same effects, even in a permanent way; (f) the psychological configuration of the individual, revealed not only by personality characteristics that condition his postures, but through postural cues in psychotherapy and in clinical analysis; (g) the physical environment, whether geographical (natural) or architectural (man-shaped), for a meadow may elicit relaxing postures just as a rocky place does the opposite, and a "soothing" building will, in certain individuals (conditioning variables are intricatedly interrelated), affect postures differently than a hostile type of architecture; and (h) the socioeconomic environment, physically perceived, can determine the sensitive person's sitting or standing habits. Sociologically and geographically, postural behavior may reveal: (a) individual idiosyncratic patterns; (b) the married coexistence of two people; (c) the easily identifiable family and clan patterns; (d) the social group, such as teenage students, construction workers, players or diplomats; and (e) the ethnic and cultural geographical variety, to which one's behavior may become adapted in a gradual acculturation process. Finally, from the socioeconomic point of view, I have distinguished: (a) the upper-class particularly refined person; (b) the average educated person; (c) the average white-collar or clerk type of employee; (d) the low-income worker; (e) the pseudo-educated, representing an interesting psychosocial subject of research, characterized by his tendency to display behavior patterns belonging to higher-status people; and (f) the rustic, diametrically opposite to the refined person, not only unaware of many social rules, but conditioned against them (as in the case of postural habits, related to his physical work and to his furniture).

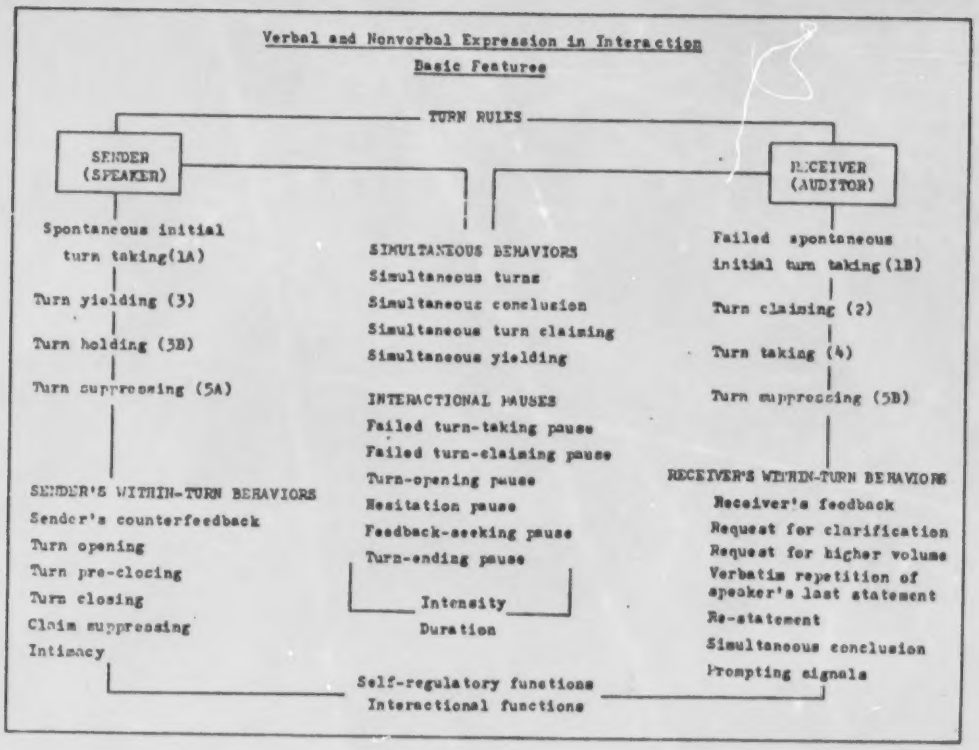

Verbal and Nonverbal Expression in Interaction
Basic Features
TURN RULES
SENDER (SPEAKER)
RECEIVER (AUDITOR)
Spontaneous initial turn taking(1A)
Turn yielding (3)
Turn holding (3B)
Turn suppressing (5A)
SENDER'S WITHIN-TURN BEHAVIORS
Sender's counterfeedback
Turn opening
Turn pre-closing
Turn closing
Claim suppressing
Intimacy
SIMULTANEOUS BEHAVIORS
Simultaneous turns
Simultaneous conclusion
Simultaneous turn claiming
Simultaneous yielding
INTERACTIONAL PAUSES
Failed turn-taking pause
Failed turn-claiming pause
Turn-opening pause
Hesitation pause
Feedback-seeking pause
Turn-ending pause
Intensity
Duration
Failed spontaneous initial turn taking (1B)
Turn claiming (2)
Turn taking (4)
Turn suppressing (5B)
RECEIVER'S WITHIN-TURN BEHAVIORS
Receiver's feedback
Request for clarification
Request for higher volume
Verbatim repetition of speaker's last statement
Re-statement
Simultaneous conclusion
Prompting signals
Self-regulatory functions
Interactional functions

Fig. 4

CHAPTER 3

THE BASIC TRIPLE STRUCTURE OF HUMAN COMMUNICATION AND THE FORMS OF USAGE

After the basic principles and rules of daily human interaction were explained and related to the cultural context of a community or an individual, this chapter is devoted to making a brief presentation of two or more angles from which the student of language and communication should view interpersonal relationships. One is the Triple Structure of Human Communication Behavior (language-paralanguage-kinesics), that is, the three main interactive systems, two of which, paralanguage and kinesics will be dealt with later. After a review of some rather uncertain definitions of language, paralanguage, and kinesics, the communicative status of the basic triple structure is emphasized through a quick contrastive overview of the three systems involved, and by suggesting their simultaneous transcription and a semantic-progression type of presentation as two descriptive devices. Secondly, usage is considered, not as a class-bound phenomenon only, but as a horizontally distributed series of intertwined categories.

3.1. The realms of language, paralanguage and kinesics

3.1.1. There is no need to emphasize that language, the most elaborate and advantageous transactional tool, is the backbone of human communication. However, by blindly admitting and repeating this obvious principle, the word language, according to most definitions, has been given a meaning which may seem either too broad or too limited in the light of a finer analysis of our communicative activities. That which gives shape to the richest form of communication, around words but not always simultaneously with

them, is a series of elements other than the linguistic structure proper. Man, as he speaks, accompanying, altering or alternating with the purely linguistic core of his deliverance, supporting or contradicting the essential messages conveyed by words and sentences with their stress and intonation contours, develops other structured elements subtly interrelated which cannot be ignored. I am referring to the paralinguistic structure and to the kinesic one; and, from a cultural and interactive point of view, to other systems whose analysis should never be disassociated from that of the main triple body of activities (Poyatos, 1975c). Their combination and interdependence form the manifold communicative system of each culture and the subject of different fields (several branches of anthropology, social psychology, clinical psychiatry and psychotherapy, medicine, biology, semiotics and zoosemiotics, sociology, linguistics and psycholinguistics), which are gradually blending into a complex interdisciplinary area of research.

Many of the investigators, however, have in many instances resorted to the linguistic type of analogy when trying to analyze a portion of communicative behavior, which, obviously, poses serious problems. If they need to isolate a unit of communicative behavior on which to carry out that analysis, what exactly must they regard as a unit, and which elements must they consider as its constituents? One immediately thinks of language, and inevitably tries to isolate a sentence which, we claim, represents a complete unit of meaning, distinguishing patterns of stress, pitch and pausal phenomena, but nothing else. And yet, that combination of phonemes and morphemes acoustically perceived appears quite lifeless if we only attach to it stress, pitch and juncture, for any stretch of speech under normal circumstances carries some extralinguistic elements which constitute what most of us agree more and more in calling paralanguage; and, if

visually perceived, that sentence is accompanied by certain kinesic elements, perhaps hardly noticeable, but closely related to both the linguistic and the paralinguistic co-structures.

Before elaborating on the triple structure, however, I would like to list a few definitions of language, paralanguage and kinesics formulated in different fields, so that the reader will later be able to appreciate the scope of the ones offered in this book.

3.1.2. Language, as I just pointed out, has received a rather heterogeneous series of conceptual definitions, usually dictated by the particular fields of research where they originated. Simply by way of an informative review of some typical definitory discrepancies, I will cite the following in a chronological order:

The anthropologist-linguist Franz Boas (1911), broad-minded in his study of different Indian languages, considered language as "communication by means of sounds produced by the articulating organs," obviously involving certain articulated sounds called paralinguistic if viewed only from the point of view of our own language.

From the anthropologist-linguist-psychiatrist Edward Sapir, I shall quote these two definitions: "a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols" (1921), and "primarily a system of phonetic symbols for the expression of communicable thought and feeling" (1933), both of which exclude nonvocal systems.

The philosopher and pioneering semiotician Charles Morris (1946) sees language as composed by a plurality of man-produced signs with an unchangeable meaning known to a number of interpreters, a conception which would seem to subsume verbal as well as nonvocal signs.

The psychiatrist Robert E. Pittinger and the linguist Henry L. Smith (1957) defined language as "an arbitrary system of vocal symbols by which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in a given culture, interact and communicate," which does not deny the inclusion of paralinguistic (vocal) phenomena.

The paralinguistic pioneer George L. Trager said in a seminal article (1958) that language is "the cultural system which employs certain of the noises made by what are called the organs of speech, combines them into recurrent sequences, and arranges these sequences in systematic distributions in relation to each other and in reference to other cultural systems," which establishes a clear difference between linguistic vocal phenomena and paralinguistic vocal ones.

The sociologist Joyce Hertzler's definition (1965) is likely to satisfy most readers: "A language is a culturally constructed and socially established system . . . of standardized and conventionalized . . . symbols, which have a specific and arbitrarily determined meaning and common usage for purposes of socially meaningful expression, and for communication in the given society . . . this symbol system usually consists of certain more or less conventionalized signals and gestures, but especially of orderly . . . spoken sounds and, very late in human history, of written . . . characters." Kinesics, or specifically gestures, seem to be part of those conventionalized symbols according to this broader definition.

The popular linguistic glossary by Mario Pei (1966) defines it as "a system of communication by sounds, operating through the organs of speech and hearing, among members of a given community, and using vocal symbols possessing arbitrary, conventional meanings," which, by definition, could include what many call paralinguistic features.

For the linguist Dwight Bolinger (1968), "Human language

is a system of vocal-auditory communication using conventional signs composed of arbitrary patterned sound units and assembled according to set rules, interacting with the experiences of its users," which, although it does not specify, can include certain communicative forms considered paralinguistic from our western point of view (such as clicks), or "Hew!"

J. P. Chaplin's dictionary of psychology (1968) takes as language "any form of communication among people, whether verbal or gestural."

Animal behaviorist W. H. Thorpe (1972), admitting the vagueness of the colloquial use of the term language, points out the widespread tendency between students of animal behavior and physiological psychologists to apply it to the most elaborate forms of animal communication, specially the one carried out through the vocal-auditory tract for the transfer of social information; a tendency which clearly broadens the scope of the concept of language.

Finally, the anthropologically and physiologically oriented linguist Philip Lieberman, intensely engaged in the study of non-human primates' speech (1972), uses the term language, not as coterminous with speech, like many do, but as "a communications system that is capable of transmitting new information," that is, "a communications system that places no restriction on the nature or the quality of the information transferred" (1973), by which he clearly opposes the traditionally anthrocentric approach to the conception of language as belonging to present-day homo sapiens only. At the same time (and I am linking this brief survey of language definitions with some of paralanguage), I must add that Lieberman holds, and rightfully so, that a pretended rigid dichotomy at the phonetic level concerning "paralinguistic" and "linguistic" units exists only, not because of that tendency to concentrate on the supralaryngeal vocal tract of homo sapiens, but because we think in terms of the segmental

phenomena of, for example, the English language. This is disregarding the fact that, for instance, some Chinese dialects, as Lieberman points out, use variations in fundamental frequency (perceived as pitch variations) to differentiate some words, while a North American speaker would treat that as "paralinguistic" in a similar way, many click (suctional) sounds are perfectly phonological and lexical in Bushman languages, for example, as Polish linguist Roman Stopa brilliantly studied (1972), besides analyzing the main types of human speech sounds including the phonetic systems of "clicking languages" (1957).

3.1.3. Paralanguage, then, becomes a controversial term sometimes, although, why not admit it, it is being accepted by the majority of nonverbal communication students as a perfectly workable one referring to the extremely complex series of highly significative sounds, and accompanying pauses, produced in the vocal-auditory channel beyond what, "for our western languages," are recognized as suprasegmental phonemes known as stress, pitch and juncture. At any rate, as New York State Psychiatric Institute's Richard Harris pointed out in a brief but pithy survey of paralinguistic studies (1972), "paralanguage is extremely important both as a powerful instrument of interaction analysis and as a significant cross-cultural variable," and can reveal "new dimensions in the dynamics of human social interaction and personality development."

The reader must be warned, however, about the fact that, although for most students of paralanguage today the term involves only the sounds and silences just mentioned, there are still some who include body motion as well, that is, what has already become clearly differentiated as kinesics.

Without attempting to review the development of paralinguistic studies, I will simply point out that, after Archibald A. Hill used the term paralanguage (1952) and then

paralinguistics (1958) as embodying both "paralanguage" and body motion or kinesics, other well known current scholars have done the same thing, among them Abercrombie (1968), backed in a way by Lyons (1972), and particularly by the editors of a recent book on face-to-face interaction (Laver and Hutcheson, 1972), who distinguish "vocal paralinguistic features" ("tone of voice") and "nonvocal paralinguistic features" (kinesics). Most other scholars, however, agree in separating paralanguage and kinesics as two different, although interrelated, areas of research. Within paralanguage itself the controversy lies sometimes in the difficulty to draw a boundary line between language and paralanguage.

From the beginning, students of the so-called paralinguistic phenomena have realized that, as Pittinger, Hockett and Danehy (1960) put it, "paralinguistic habits show a different sort of organization from language habits. Although there are certain phenomena the classification of which as linguistic remains unclear, the distinction is in principle understood." Both domains, however, although still overlapping, are becoming more delineated as far as research frameworks and theoretical formulations are concerned.

Trager (1958) explained that, against the background he calls "voice set," "there take place three kinds of events employing the vocal apparatus: language . . . variegated other noises not having the structure of language . . . and modifications of all the language and other noises," which together he called "paralanguage."

Austin (1965), admitting a clear separation between kinesics and paralanguage, defines the latter as "significant non-linguistic noises made with the vocal tract," and later as "significant noises made by the non-articulated vocal tract," using the term "articulated" in its linguistic sense.

Crystal (1969), acknowledging the traditional disagreement over the term "paralinguistic," describes paralinguistic

features as "combinations of physiologically grounded parameters with pitch, loudness, duration and silence being variable in relation to their identification," and later (1973) as "meaningfully contrastive institutionalized non-segmental phonation. This, therefore, excludes kinesics and other non-vocal phenomena--a desirable distinction, in my view, until such time as it can be shown that there are sufficient parallels between paralinguistics and kinesic structures to warrant a conflation."

Duncan (1972, 1973b) refers to paralanguage as "the wide variety of vocal behaviors that occur in speech but that are not part of the sound system of language, as traditionally conceived," this last statement corroborating the fact, mentioned earlier, that some of those sounds (clicks, etc.) can be "linguistic" in other languages.

Harris (Harris and Rubinstein, 1973), who, enthusiastically and convincingly, is trying to show paralanguage in its own cognitive and semantic status and not merely "emotive," as much superficial thinking has traditionally categorized it, lists pitch-range, pitch-register, overall loudness, tempo, and duration, among other paralinguistic parameters.

As for Lieberman (1973), who best represents (with his disturbingly convincing arguments in favor of the cognitive aspect of nonhumans' speech) the skepticism as to the linguistic-paralinguistic boundary, he refuses to label a given set of vocal features "paralinguistic" as opposed to some linguistic ones (which should always be kept in mind by those interested in the communication abilities of human and non-human species).

Finally, to close this most incomplete listing of opinions, Kendon (1974), commenting on a recent interdisciplinary conference on face-to-face interaction, concludes, from the discussions generated in it, that not only the boundary between language and paralanguage is unclear, but that between language

and kinesics, since a conversation among deafmutes can go on without any speech or paralanguage whatsoever.

3.1.4. As for kinesics (anecdotically and pseudo-scientifically popularized in the last few years by some books, and even by some men's and women's magazines like Playboy and Glamour), the reader should be warned against associating this young and promising field of research with just "gestures," in the most superficial sense of the word, and should realize the full significance and far-reaching possibilities of one of the richest areas of communication, whose applications range from anthropology to the different branches of psychology and psychiatry, and from linguistics to literary criticism. In this section I simply intend to make clear what is, or can be, considered as "kinesic" in nature, and, therefore, the subject of kinesics.

The anthropologist-psychiatrist Ray L. Birdwhistell, who coined the term "kinesics" and opened a whole field for systematic analysis of normal as well as pathological behavior, has been giving, as his work progressed, various definitions with some interesting variations, on which, and a few others by other scholars, I will comment briefly. First (1952), he described kinesics as "the study of body motion as related to the non-verbal aspects of interpersonal communication. The term kinesics has been chosen to cover the multi-level approach (physical, physiological, psychological, and cultural) to such phenomena." Later (1954), he described it as "the study of the visually sensible aspect of non-verbal, interpersonal communication," and then (1955) as "the systematic study of how human beings communicate through body movement and gesture." In a psychiatric-oriented article (1963), he wrote that kinesics was "the systematic study of those patterned and learned aspects of body motion which can be demonstrated to have communicational value," and still later (1970) he describes the field as "concerned with the abstraction of

those portions of body motion activity which contribute to the process of human interaction," and adds: "As an anthropological kinesicist I am concerned with the learned and visually perceptible shifts in the body which contribute to the peculiar communication systems of particular societies. Kinesics is concerned with abstracting from the continuous muscular shifts which are characteristic of living physiological systems those groupings of movements which are of significance to the communicational process and thus to the interactional systems of particular social groups." I hope that my insistence upon Birdwhistell's own wording will help the reader better understand what kinesics is all about.

Duncan, one of the most active "nonverbal-communicologists" (if I may, timidly, use this term), in his already cited review of nonverbal communication studies (1969), refers to "body motion or kinesic behavior: gestures and other body movements, including facial expression, eye movement, and posture"; later (1972), under "body motion" displayed in conversational encounters, he includes: head gestures and movements, direction of head orientation, shoulder movements, facial expressions, "hand gestures and movements of all sorts," foot movements, leg movements, postures and posture shifts, and "use of artifacts, such as pipe, kleenex, papers, and clipboard."

For the psycholinguist Jacqueline Lindenfeld (1971), "kinesic behavior consists of such elements as facial expression and movements of any part of the body."

Finally, I notice that the anthropologist Barakat, in a very interesting article about Arabic gestures and their cultural and cross-cultural implications (1973), refers to kinesics as "silent communication."

Although in Chapter 5 I will elaborate on my own conception of the field of kinesics (suggested in the "Total Body Communication" chart), I simply wish to clarify here for the

reader that kinesic elements, which combine, structurally speaking, with language and paralanguage in the basic triple stream of interaction, (a) are not only "visual" or "silent," as there is what I earlier called "visual-acoustic kinesics" (finger-snapping, desk-tapping), perceived only as sound when vision is blocked, or by the blind interactant, (b) can constitute "contact kinesics," most important for the blind, who can in this way perceive alter-adaptors, like a slap on the back, and (c) if kinesics includes gestures, manners, and postures, as it obviously does, it is not just "movement" it deals with, since a posture is a static position of the body, even though conditioned by a "forming" movement.

On the other hand, most definitions agree in referring to kinesic behaviors as patterned ones, which proves that their analysis, beyond the picturesque aspect of certain social affairs like courting, greetings or being interviewed, possesses a great value in clinical as well as in psychosocial or psycholinguistic research.

3.2. Language, paralanguage and kinesics contrasted

I would now like to turn to a contrastive overview of the three main systems involved in interpersonal communication: language, paralanguage and kinesics. Other communicative activities, like proxemics or olfactory perception of information are, of course, related to them in many interactive encounters, but they are left aside for the moment because they do not seem to form (in humans, that is) such an indispensable part in the general structure of communication. A structure that, to make things more difficult, is also dependent, at every moment, from the biophysicopsychological and socioeconomic-geographical conditioning background.

3.2.1. Language, in the sense of the spoken string of words and sentences of human speech, shows, morphologically, (a) a segmental level or "layer" formed by vowels and consonants

made up of phonemes, or smallest distinctive units (with their allophones or variations), combined to form morphemes (words, suffices), or smallest semantic units, which are themselves combined to form syntagms and syntactic constructions; to that almost lifeless body we must attach, (b) a suprasegmental layer formed by what is commonly referred to as intonation, consisting of four degrees of relative loudness, or stress, four different pitches, and three terminal junctures (rising, falling, level). These intonation patterns have no referential meaning in themselves, unless they qualify the lexical construct; although, as it will be seen later, a paralinguistic inarticulated closed-lip expiration of air can convey different meanings simply by varying its most important component, intonation. We can say, however, that in a real communication situation a phrase with its intonation contour is "colored" by certain paralinguistic and kinesic elements, and that it is only then that many semantic changes and many otherwise impossible nuances are expressed; in other words, when that phrase reaches the totality of the interrelation of the three communicative activities which are the basis of unobstructed human interaction.

3.2.2. Paralanguage, simultaneous or alternating with those essential segmental and suprasegmental elements, offers to the observer a series of nonsegmental vocal effects and sounds that cover a very wide range of acoustic phenomena determined, first of all, by the anatomy and physiology of the individual's vocal tract, and, secondly, by the idiosyncratic use he makes of those possibilities.

The problem with paralanguage is that it does not seem to offer a "unit" analogous to the phoneme, susceptible of being built up into larger structures. All we can do is abstract a specific quality of the voice, say, syllabic duration (within "primary qualities"), and establish a scalar series of degrees below and above a medium line, that is:

overclipped--clipped--medium--drawled--overdrawled; or velar control (within "qualifiers"), which makes voice very nasal--nasal--medium--oral--very oral. Other features, which override actual speech ("differentiators"), admit (a) a scalar classification of, for instance, giggling (which, at any rate, would also depend upon other features such as the velar control just mentioned or pitch, thus showing also five degrees in each case), or (b) a sort of "class" ranging, in the case of laughter, from closed-lip muffled snickering to uproarious guffawing. But there is a fourth group ("alternants"), which is independent from "words" and whose status must be elaborated on later, which either show actual phonemes (like the apico-alveolar click, although not from the point of view of the English language), or consist of certain inarticulated sounds that are difficult to measure according to a base line (unless we consider their modifying accompanying features) and whose variations may or may not produce a semantic change.

3.2.3. Kinesics, however, has revealed, when applying to its analysis the methodology of linguistic structuralism, a smallest discrete element, the kineme (analogous to the phoneme), made up of various allokines (similar to allophones); kinemes combine into morphological constructs called kinemorphs (analogous to morphs), forming kinemorphemes (comparable to morphemes) and kinesyntactic constructions. What is more, some suprasegmental elements, namely kinemes of stress and juncture, have been reported by Birdwhistell (1970) as appearing in the linguistic-kinesic stream (while the relationship between linguistic pitch and body movement is under study). In addition, parakinesic degrees of intensity, range and velocity (akin to stress and articulatory tension, syllabic duration, and speech tempo) have also been identified.

We can conclude, then, that, of the three components of the basic communicative structure, paralanguage is the one that defies a thorough analysis in terms of its internal

structure, although a very interesting body of research is disclosing its role as a co-structure with language and kinesics in interaction.

3.3. The presentation on paper of the Basic Triple Structure

3.3.1. The methodological system suggested in this section is not intended only for the dedicated field worker or for the microanalyst of human social behavior, but, in a rather broad application of it (which depends, after all, on individual aims), for the keen student of language, whether his own or a foreign one, in its cultural-communicative context; if he realizes the importance of nonverbal communication, he may wish to verify, in a jigsaw-puzzle fashion, the co-occurrence of the linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic activities as they actually take place in everyday interactive situations.

In the last chapter of his very useful textbook on nonverbal communication, Knapp (1972) shows the necessity to become acquainted with observational and recording techniques, not only by offering his readers a review of some sophisticated methods, but by suggesting a nine-category "global system" aimed at increasing verbal and nonverbal sensitivity towards social interaction behaviors easily observable "in the classroom, at cocktail parties, at work, etc." Although I can see the point in dealing with observational and recording techniques at the end of the book, I also believe that if some references to existing methods, or some other frameworks, are made available to the readers from the beginning, they will be able to appreciate better, not only the problems inherent to any type of recording and transcriptional techniques, but the interrelationship of the different communicative activities they are gradually getting acquainted with.

Knapp's observation system includes a "first-impressions" initial phase (dealing with the environment and then with the

participants) and an "interaction" phase concerned with: touching behavior, facial expressions, eye behavior, posture-position, vocal behavior, physical movement, and verbal behavior. In what follows, however, I offer the linguistically oriented readers, first, a musical-score type of simultaneous transcription-description of the basic triple structure, and, then, a semantic-progression type of presentation that shows a gradually built-up linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic compound in its relation to the ever-present conditioning background. Although most of us have been exposed only to the kind of transcription facilitated by the International Phonetic Alphabet, the present interdisciplinary boom of nonverbal communication studies obliges us to acknowledge the handful of linguists, anthropologists, psychologists and clinical psychiatrists who, for the last twenty years, have been carrying out analytical studies of psychotherapeutic interviews and of human social behavior in general, trying to come to grips with the problems involved in representing the suspected underlying patterned structures of interpersonal communication.

3.3.2. The transcription-description of the basic triple structure of communication can be arranged on paper in the following way:

Phonemic transcription		PT_____
Paralinguistic transcription	Primary Qualities	PQ_____
	Qualifiers	Q_____
	Differentiators	D_____
	Alternants	A_____
Transcript		T_____
Kinegraphic transcription	Head	H_____
	Arms & Hands	A&H_____
	Truck & Legs	T&L_____
Description		_____

This arrangement, although theoretically it goes farther than its model because of the number and classification of

the activities involved, was inspired by the classic in the field: the work of the psychiatrists Pittinger and Danehy and the linguist-anthropologist Hockett (1960) on a five-minute segment of a psychiatric interview, where, mainly by means of arbitrary graphic symbols, they represented the linguistic and paralinguistic behaviors of the patient, adding to it a minute analysis of what goes on during the interview. The basic features of the present system are:

(a) The linguistic transcription can use the IPA symbols with the occasional variations introduced by different authors.

(b) As for the notation of paralinguistic phenomena, one could combine what would seem best among the symbols used by Trager (1958), Pittinger, Hockett and Danehy (1960), Crystal and Quirk (1964), Austin (1965), or McQuown and associates (1971), among others, while I personally (Poyatos, 1973a) have suggested a number of transcription symbols, particularly for paralinguistic "alternants."

(c) For kinesics, the readers can consult Birdwhistell's "kinegraphs" (1970); or from a more practical point of view, the abbreviated system suggested by Kendon (1969), consisting of: eyes, brows and forehead, mouth, head, hand and arms, shoulders and trunk, and direction of gaze. Based on these two systems, one could simplify the recording of body movements and positions by differentiating, as in the diagram above, three principal areas: head, arms and hands, and trunk and legs, each one including whatever the observer in question deems more practical and indispensable.

(d) By description I refer, in this analysis, to: the spatial arrangement between interactants, that is, their proxemic behavior, for which there is also a notational system by the initiator of proxemics, Edward T. Hall (1963); a broad account of how they handle time, which I have been referring to as "chronemics," by analogy to proxemics; the contextual

situation, that is, the environment or setting in which the encounter takes place, with some important circumstances; and, in general, those factors included in the conditioning background which seem to be of relevance in a particular situation.

The observer of social interaction may wish to practice this system on just two or three sentences or in several "turns" in which different interactants hold the floor. Features covering long stretches, and not merely one or two syllables or words, can be indicated only once at the beginning of the appropriate line or level (IR, irregular rhythm; VVN, voice very nasal, etc.). Logically, things happening simultaneously must be represented vertically aligned with each other, or to the right or to the left of a given act if they happen after or before it, so that different degrees of synchrony and disnychrony can be appreciated. Pauses, as it will be discussed later, are treated, except final ones, as paralinguistic or kinesic phenomena.

3.3.3. What I would like to suggest as semantic progression is actually an additional or complementary approach to the total semantic content of the basic triple structure as displayed in interpersonal communication. Its presentation requires two different but interrelated perspectives:

(a) vertically, we can appreciate the effect of the various nonverbal accompaniments of the verbal expression if we start by writing down a sentence devoid of any audible elements (0); in other words, just a string of conventional graphemes morphologically and syntactically arranged, with no transcribed suprasegmental features, as if we could see that sentence without even hearing it mentally, which is what happens in thoughtful reading or even when looking casually at lively slogans in billboards and posters. Then we begin to build up that uncolored series of words towards the totality of its communicative capacity by adding to that transcript

the suprasegmental phonemes of stress, pitch and juncture (1). Next, the paralinguistic features: primary qualities (2), qualifiers (3), differentiators, if any (4), and alternants, if any (5). In addition, if we are to represent verbal and nonverbal communication as it actually happens, we must add the accompanying kinesic behavior (6), and even the proxemic (7) and the chronemic (8) ones, since an interactional sentence may have been initiated at a specific distance from our interactant, but completed at a different one; as for the chronemic aspect of interaction, it would be more easily observed and recorded when dealing with longer stretches of interaction, as, for instance, a turn.

(b) horizontally, since hearing and seeing someone speak and act is not enough to fully penetrate the meaning of that communication situation, we would have to record whatever factors may constitute the conditioning background of that particular person (sex, age, personality configuration, etc.).

If we are working with just a sentence of a short stretch of activities, the semantic progression can be represented on paper (a larger than usual one perhaps!), at least basically, as shown in the diagram below, that is, the verbal and nonverbal gradually-complemented transcriptions placed one below the other in such a way that each new one contains the others, until the last one (whether adding kinesic, proxemic, or chronemic behavior) shows the entire series of concurrent activities.

3.4. Forms of usage in verbal and nonverbal communication

3.4.1. Most people understand by usage the customary manner in which we use our national language, applying that term to no other form of communication. But if language does not take place in isolation because, as it has been demonstrated so far, each portion of it is simultaneously accompanied, preceded or followed by the nonverbal activities,

SEMANTIC PROGRESSION				
VERTICAL	HORIZONTAL			
	CONDITIONING BACKGROUND			
	Sex	Age	Somatogenic or Hereditary Factors	Etc.
(0) Unpunctuated Transcript (1) Stress, Pitch, Juncture (2) Primary Qualities (3) Qualifiers (4) Differentiators (5) Alternants (6) Kinesic Behavior (7) Proxemic Behavior (8) Chronemic Behavior				

mainly paralanguage and kinesics; and if the full signification of interpersonal communication is reached (only when this triple combination is achieved, and not between deafmutes or in a telephone conversation), it is not difficult to conclude that dealing with linguistic usage in isolation is as unrealistic as studying language alone and ignoring paralanguage and kinesics. I hope that at this point, after having taken a close look at what really goes on when people communicate with each other in face-to-face interaction, the readers will agree with me that the term usage should include verbal and nonverbal communicative activities within a given culture. We all are perfectly aware of the different forms of paralinguistic and kinesic repertoires of the people we know, specially those who belong to very different social strata, just as we can identify persons and situations by the kind of language spoken. However, I would prefer to speak of forms of usage rather than of levels of usage, trying to avoid the

"bourgeois" or "cultured" criterion that rates the different communicative styles according to the standards and rules of the average "cultured" person--which, naturally, leaves out the lower-level people--prescribing almost absolute values for each of those styles as to what is "standard," "colloquial," "slang," or "vulgar." Although the differentiating features of certain socioeconomic strata are facts, one should consider (a) that groups which are next to each other overlap as an ever-shifting and self-renovating part of their members are socioeconomically and culturally astride the two, and (b) that there is in the more developed western cultures today a constant borrowing of verbal and nonverbal communicative features, mainly by the higher-up groups from the lower ones. What and why they borrow them, and how and with whom they use them, can be the subject of extensive research.

At any rate, instead of resorting to labels like "colloquial" or "vulgar," and instead of referring to specific socioeconomic levels (although they are important constituents of the conditioning background) in a hierarchized way, I will distinguish, in a horizontal fashion, the following forms of usage:

3.4.2. The standard consists of the verbal repertoires, paralinguistic expressive constructs and accompanying phenomena, kinesic activity and social attitudes common to the refined and the rustic, to the educated and the pseudo-educated, as the national or "cultural" standard used by, and observable in, "everybody."

3.4.3. At the same time, each socioeconomic group and each occupational group possesses a portion of its standard communicative repertoire which is not shared by the others, but of which those others are perfectly aware, and for whom that portion is felt and judged as extrastandard. Each individual, from his own level or group, can easily identify it as such and, according to his capacity, adopt it under special

circumstances as a functional variety for the sake of adaptability to a particular group and/or situation. One interesting fact about this capacity for adaptability is that it decreases in direct proportion to the socioeconomic and cultural level of the individual, while the tendency to criticize extra-standard behaviors increases in direct proportion to it. Clearly enough, the average uneducated person does not have the capacity to use the same words, the same "tone of voice" and the same gestures, postures and manners the educated one uses because he lacks the proper vocabulary and the sensitiveness for judging the different ways in which other people speak and move, something which is acquired only in daily contact with the educated and through conscious and unconscious trained appreciation of the values related to the dominant norms and tastes in the other groups. Instead, a person with a much larger cultural capacity, who often gets in close contact with people in other strata, is prepared to appreciate and judge those differences and, when necessary, to imitate them if he so wishes. For the same reasons, the farmer will not find as many faults with the educated's behavior as the educated will find with his.

3.4.4. Below the standard and the extrastandard, and regardless of "social class," there is an infrastandard, unacceptable for most people under normal circumstances, as it happens with repeated blasphemy, habitual yelling, certain obscene gestures, physical contact when and in a way it should be avoided, excessive unpunctuality, etc. What I would like to add to this is that what we may regard as excessive politeness, situationally improper sweet voice, or overdisplay of gestural expressions, are also infrastandard forms whether we traditionally consider them good or bad.

3.4.5. Finally, technical or group usage is an independent category that, on occasions, can be shared by individuals of different socioeconomic levels, and that includes religious

and sports ritual, the diplomatic protocol, high school and college slang, the usage of hospital staff, law court, newspaper office, etc.

As for terms like "slang" or "colloquial," to which we all are accustomed in linguistics, there is really no reason why we could not say that showing the middle finger to someone is a slang gesture, or that so-and-so uses a lot of slangy kinesics or slangy paralanguage, since, if those otherwise borderless categories are recognized, they actually cover paralanguage and kinesics as well as language, and quite unmistakably too.

CHAPTER 4

PARALANGUAGE: VOCAL-NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

Drawing mostly from my own work, I try to present in this chapter as systematic a picture of paralanguage as I can offer to date. Many refinements on the part of different disciplines are necessary in this still young field of research, mainly as regards further delimitation of the various categories involved, labelling and description of many a paralinguistic phenomenon, their phonetic transcription as well as their orthographic representation, and their occurrence and distribution in the communication situation, particularly from the point of view of their structuration and patterning with verbal utterances and with other nonverbal behaviors. In the pages that follow I outline the first three categories of suprasegmental features that I have differentiated, and then I concentrate on the fourth one, as it offers many of the components of our daily vocal nonverbal repertoires, or which most of us have not thought before from a serious, scholarly point of view. I hope that the reader will find in this material a wealth of possibilities for field-work projects and for a much deeper knowledge of man's communicative tools and interactive behavior.

4.0. If we define language as: the basic cultural communicative system formed by some of the noises produced in the area covered by the lips, the supraglottal cavities, the laryngeal cavity and the infraglottal cavities, which systematically combined as symbolic signs man uses to express himself; then we can define <u>paralanguage</u> as: the nonverbal voice qualities, modifiers and sounds produced or conditioned in the areas covered by the supraglottal cavities (from the lips and the nares to the pharynx), the laryngeal cavity and the infraglottal cavities down to the abdominal muscles, which

consciously or unconsciously man uses supporting or contradicting the linguistic, kinesic or proxemic messages mainly, either simultaneously or alternating with them.

I must confess, however, that I am not altogether happy with a categoric inclusion of certain sounds or clusters of sounds as paralinguistic or, at any rate, as nonverbal, since, as I will argue later, some of those features obviously deserve the status of lexemes, or dictionary items. On the other hand, those borderline cases could very well be considered paralinguistic until they acquire the semantic and morphological characteristics that would justify their rescue from the non-language stage.

According, then, to the cultural significance (from which a more refined study must single out the anthroponemic or pancultural features) and to the semantic value of the items treated as paralinguistic, we can classify them depending on whether (a) they are qualities inherent to the linguistic structure proper, but whose variations must be considered above the ordinary suprasegmentals (Primary Qualities), or (b) they are qualities that modify both the verbal utterances and the primary qualities (Modifiers), and (c) as sounds actually independent from the linguistic structure (Alternants).

4.1. Primary Qualities

These are elements that, while being first considered as indispensable constituents of verbal language, may also modify it as paralinguistic features. I have distinguished ten:

4.1.1. Timbre, or voice register, differentiated not only sexually (man, due to larger vocal cords, has lower timbre than women and children), but geographically (it is lower, for instance, in the average American male than in the average Spaniard, and lower in Castile than in Southern Spain and Latin America).

4.1.2. Pitch level, or tone in which a given portion of speech is conducted according to the individual's biological characteristics (it could be just that person's timbre), or to affective states and/or the situational context (the high-pitched voice of innocence and helplessness, or the low-pitched one of a man engaged in a passionate conversation).

4.1.3. Pitch registers, perceived as paralinguistic when, for instance, an American speaker who knows some Spanish applies to that language, which has three "conversational" registers, the four (even five sometimes) of his own language.

4.1.4. Pitch interval between those registers, which can be spread, as when calling from a distance ("Mo-ther!"), or compressed if we pronounce the same thing in an unspirited and monotonous way.

4.1.5. The intonation range, varying according to the individual's personality and to the situational context and the rest of the conditioning background, as very melodious--melodious--medium--monotonous--very monotonous. Someone who is "low," for instance, speaks in a more monotonous voice than someone who just won a prize and speaks with higher than usual registers and with very melodious intonation contours. Someone's style of speaking referred to as "corny" is due, among other features, to the vocabulary chosen and to a rather melodious intonation.

4.1.6. Resonance: very resonant--resonant--medium--thin--very thin. We can also refer to a "resounding" voice, which depends on the degree of vibration of the supraglottal cavities independently from the articulatory organs themselves.

4.1.7. The volume of the voice, raised or lowered depending on the situation, or on the emotional or medical state of the individual. Besides, it is a cultural element, since any North American tourist in Latin or Arab countries notices how the natives never hush their voices in an ordinary restaurant, and how a very popular one is a continuous uproar.

4.1.8. Syllabic duration is one of the two most distinctive aspects of tempo. The North American speaker uses drawling and clipping, from very drawled to very clipped, combined with his four pitch registers. For transcription purposes, we can indicate two degrees of drawling by means of → and ↠, and clipping by means of ^ and ^^: "Oh, yes!", "Yeah!", "Yes!", "Yep!".

4.1.9. The overall tempo of speech, heavily dependent upon the conditioning background of communication, may signal annoyance, anxiety, haste, etc., if it is fast, while a slow one can be consciously used to adopt an air of assurance, of high social status, of dominance, etc., perhaps combined with an affected overclear articulation.

4.1.10. The general rhythm of speech in conversation, of which we have an impressionistic judgment, from very smooth to very irregular and jerky.

4.2. Modifiers: Qualifiers

Like primary qualities, this second major category of paralinguistic phenomena can be arranged as they appear before the observer, that is, in opposition-like sets differing in as many degrees as we need for our analysis, but actually spreading one or two degrees below and one or two above a point that I refer to as "medium" rather than "normal," since normality seems to be quite an ambiguous concept, for it depends on each individual and his conditioning background, except for pathological cases and other clearly "abnormal" states.

I would like to differentiate two kinds of modifiers: qualifiers and differentiators.

Qualifiers denote modifications of the voice due not only to changes in the area covered between the thoracic and and the vocal-nasal areas, but to facial anatomy, and they may cover from isolated syllables to long stretches of speech. I have differentiated nine such modifiers:

4.2.1. Glottalic control: Breath (that is, respiration, perhaps a pause)--whispering--phonation. Simple audible respiration (which, as a symbolically meaningful sign, would belong in the last paralinguistic category) may precede whispered speech in a situation of secrecy or high emotional strain. Whispering, otherwise, is an important social way to speak, necessary in some cases (in church, by students in the classroom), taboo in others (during a formal visit), accepted with certain limitations (at a business meeting), and common in children talking to their parents in front of others (but criticized in the higher social strata).

4.2.2. Velar control: Voice very oral--oral--medium--nasal--very nasal. Nasality, which seems to be typical of the American speaker, is common in children, in feigned child's language by grownups, in some emotional states, and as modifier of a number of the paralinguistic alternants listed in 4.4 (e.g., the nasalized gliding vowel + tense velar-pharyngeal fricative, equivalent to, or preceding, "I can't stand the sight of it!").

4.2.3. Articulatory tension, produced in the larynx: Very tense--tense--medium--relaxed--very relaxed. If not conditioned by any specific circumstance (in oratory, scolding someone, showing self-assurance and dominance), it may simply be an individual's permanent feature.

4.2.4. Articulatory control, according to the correct or incorrect position of the tongue: Articulation clear and precise (perhaps affected)--clear--medium--slurred (like the late actor Humphrey Bogart's).

4.2.5. Pharyngeal control, the oral pharynge being very open or very squeezed: Voice very open (like in oratory)--open--medium--rasp--hoarse (in a state of great emotion).

4.2.6. Laryngeal control, produced by widening or narrowing the space between the vocal cords: Aspiration (as in emphatically sincere voice)--medium--glottalization (under tension).

4.2.7. Labial control, that is, the shape consciously or unconsciously given to one's lips, qualifies the verbal utterance in many ways, while being a message-conveying facial gesture that combines in a linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic semantic cluster. The lips can be distended slightly upwards, either unilaterally (a tough guy) or bilaterally (talking through a smile), or strongly to one side ("Popeye's voice") or to both sides (like many farmers in the movies). They can also be puckered and protruding (baby's talk, or talking to one), o. receded (concealed mockery or laughter).

4.2.8. Maxillary control, since the jaw's position (thrust forwards or backwards, or to one side) can be a genetic feature, but can also happen, in different degrees, in states of anger, expectation, etc.

4.2.9. Respiratory control, from inspiration (as the inspirated "No!" uttered in sheer terror, or the "Yeah!" used in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada, or the strongly expirated speech of pain or sexual pleasure.

4.3. Modifiers: Differentiators

This second class of modifiers can also be alternants (4.4), although alternants do not modify the linguistic structure, while the differentiators may cover whole stretches of speech (combined with primary qualities and qualifiers), distorting it. They are, in a higher degree than the qualifiers just seen, concurrent with kinesic behavior, or rather, determining specific gestures and positions. They differentiate certain psychological states and various reactions to specific sensory perceptions of pain, heat, cold and the like.

The most typical differentiators can be grouped for a detailed analysis according to their basic characteristics (specially when one, like laughing, forms a whole class with different nuances), and then by degrees. In order to avoid an unnecessary overclassification, I will just mention some of the more common ones.

Whispering: Mumbling--whispering--muttering--murmuring.

Loud voice: Screaming, yelling or crying out (open, muffled, hoarse)--screeching, squealing (oral, nasal)--shrieking--howling--roaring.

Crying: Trembling voice--tremulous, quavering voice--breaking--sighing--panting--sobbing--crying--weeping--whimpering.

Laughing: Snickering--tittering--giggling (fast and high-pitched)--chuckling--laughter:

/hi/ /he/ /hə/ /hæ/ /ha/ /hɔ/ /hu/ — oral / nasal — high-pitched / low-pitched — very fast--fast--medium--slow--very slow

--guffawing--convulsive laughter:

broken intermittent — oral / nasal — frication / occlusion

Much research could be done in this area: the type of laughter more typical of each age group and according to sex, the social aspect of laughter in relation to sensitiveness and to the situational context, the laughter-eliciting situations and the type of laughter from both the cultural and the cross-cultural points of view, etc.; on the other hand, as a conditioner of gestures, manners and postures (whether as a differentiator or as an alternant), laughter can be studied in relation to the kinesic repertoire of each individual, as a component of linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic constructs displayed by members of different cultures in different situations, etc.

Complaining (generally typified by nasality): Grumbling--muttering--whining--moaning--groaning--growling--murmuring.

Coughing, like laughing, can reveal (both as a qualifier and as an alternant, that is, by itself), the social status of the speaker and other factors in the general conditioning

background, and can be studied also in relation to the kinesic activity it elicits.

Yawning, if observed, not as an alternant (sound yawning) or a purely kinesic phenomenon, can also be quite interesting as the speaker displays different degrees of concealment, although letting it modify his verbal utterance.

As for other modifying factors that we might take for differentiators at first sight, they are actually due to the conditioning background, as when the voice is convulsive because of cold, or slurred when speaking with a pipe in the mouth.

4.4. Alternants

I have defined alternants (Poyatos, 1973a), probably the most interesting and appealing paralinguistic category for the reader, as: ingressive or egressive nonverbal marginal and nonspeech sounds or clusters of sounds, articulated or not, produced or shaped in the areas covered by the supraglottal cavities (nares, nasal chamber, nasal pharynge, mouth, and pharynge), the laryngeal cavity (glottis friction or real voice), the infraglottal cavities, and the diaphragm and the abdominal muscles, which do not affect the verbal utterance (although they can be modified by primary qualities, qualifiers and kinesic modifiers), occurring either isolated or alternating with it and with the kinesic activity.

4.4.1. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, this group of paralinguistic phenomena (whose "paralinguistic" status one is bound to doubt in quite a few instances) are difficult to analyze, both from the physiological and the articulatory points of view, and not only can they deceive the ear due to perceptual factors, but can depend on idiosyncratic elements that, particularly in a cross-cultural study, should be recognized as such. Although they are anthropophonemically possible, that is, although they belong to the potential articulated repertoire of humans, they have

been traditionally shunted away as "abnormal," when they actually belong within the acoustic body-communication system, in close interrelation with other nonverbal modalities, and convey as much specific meaning as lexical constructs. Apart from the fact that, as I indicated earlier, some of them are phonologically used in some lesser known languages, particularly in that of the African Bushmen (Stopa, 1972). I am confident, however, that soon some of us will try to elaborate a realistic phonemic chart of a culture, or subculture, beyond what is provided by the IPA, and that all the articulatory possibilities of man, as suggested by Catford (1968), will be explored in relation to the existing languages of the world.

4.4.2. Alternants in our communicative repertoire possess the distinctive and sometimes irreplaceable semantic value that words have. Therefore, if they were consistently represented by the existing orthographic symbols, complemented by some additional ones that would easily become part of the system, they could perfectly well appear as entries in a dictionary and be used by the letter-writing layman as well as by the professional novelist or playwright. It is quite absurd that just as new words have been introduced, say, in the Webster without any satisfactory etymology, simply because usage forced them into the English lexicon, many of the alternants which we use every day should not be granted the same privilege. If each language, or rather, each culture contains a great number of paralinguistic alternants that are coded and decoded by interactants in countless everyday situations, why should not a novelist be able to resort to that repertoire of vocally-produced messages which actually exist in his mind when he is at work, which he has learned to use in the proper context, but which, due to traditionally restricting spelling and "linguistic" rules and taboos, he cannot represent vividly through his characters, differentiate them and identify them better? I wholeheartedly agree with

Lieberman (1973) that "phonetic" elements of human language need not be restricted to the accepted segmental elements conveyed by traditional orthography.

On the other hand, just as Lieberman (1973) suspects that an advanced hominid species like classic Neanderthal man, while lacking many of today's segmental phonetic elements, probably used "tone of voice" for different semantic constructs--and that the pretended "rigid dichotomy between 'linguistic' and 'paralinguistic'" is an artifice if something that cannot be transcribed with the IPA symbols is automatically called "paralinguistic"--I would think that phonetic-semantic constructs like alternants may have preceded the appearance of human language.

4.4.3. According to the various categories of nonverbal communication discussed before (2.7), the reader will find that alternants can act as affect-displays (a sigh, a strong nareal egression), regulators of the interactive exchange (a turn-claiming short pharyngeal ingression, a feedback "Mm-hm"), illustrators (a growl, imitation of different noises), and emblems (which can also function as affect-displays and as regulators, like the apico-alveolar click, which can mean disappointment, impatience, etc., or signal the intention to take the floor).

As for the relationship between alternants and their meanings, the coding can be arbitrary, as it is in most of them, or echoic. I use the term "echoic" as representing the acoustic equivalent of the "iconic," or visual sign, as the sign that looks like "what it means" is called in semiotics. Thus, echoic coding can be onomatopoeic (resembling its significant, like a hiss to signify a flat tire) or intrinsic (being its significant, like a "human growl" meant as such).

The meaning itself can be shared by several individuals (at least two), by a whole community, by a whole culture, or even by several cultures; or it can be purely idiosyncratic,

whether recurrent or not, as with some unfamiliar noises some people can produce as part of their vocal repertoire.

4.4.4. As for the classification of the vocal phenomena I have termed alternants, I would like to make the following observations before going into an individual analysis of the more typical ones:

From the strictly phonetic point of view, they can be, according to the following points or areas of articulation or production: bilabial, labiodental, dental, interdental, apico-alveolar, dorso-palatal, velar, velic (velo-pharyngeal), pharyngeal, naso-pharyngeal, nareal (nostrils), glottal, and esophageal; and according to the manner of articulation or production: stop, explosive, fricative, frictional, affricate, clicking, labialized, whistling, vibrant, trilled, spasmodic, lateral, retrolateral, nasal, nareal, ingressive, unvoiced, drawled, clipped, and with closed lips; while the vocalic elements, that seem to show a closed-lip alternative, are formed as single, gliding or double vowels, with the usual lip opening (high, mid, low) and tongue position (front, central, back).

For their presentation, however, I rather arrange the lines from the inventory I have been studying so far, according to certain dominant characteristics, paying more attention to their actual phonemic values among the speakers, to the role they play in personal interaction, and to their functions and meanings from the semiotic point of view. This criterion will justify, I hope, some of the groups suggested, such as "clicks," or "whistling alternants," in spite of individual articulatory differences, while the rest adhere more to a phonetic classification.

4.4.5. Certain problems become obvious when dealing with alternants. As it was pointed out when discussing the basic triple structure, most alternants defy a systematic analysis in contrastive sets and their qualities are difficult

to measure, except for some like phonation vs. voicelessness, closed slips vs. open lips, tension vs. laxness; or when we refer to paralinguistic and kinesic modifiers (or their absence), which do not always modify meaning as in the case of nasalization, low brows vs. high brows, etc., in a number of alternants that are not affected by them. Another problem is labelling, as there are a great number of alternants for which we lack a noun and a verb, just as we have "to hiss" and "hiss," "to gasp" and "gasp"; in other words, we need to name those significant sounds when referring to them, because, although it is possible to paraphrase when referring to semantically different types of hissing (beckoning-, sexual-, hushing-hissing, etc.), to call the bilabial stop + apico-alveolar fricative [ps] "hissing," would not be correct, thus we must necessarily coin something like "to pist" and "pist." But how to speak of or write a cynical tense naso-pharyngeal egression, or a closed-lip nareal one that signals contempt? For one thing, we should take more seriously the cartoon system for transcribing a good number of vocally produced sounds ("EEEEE!" "AAUGH!" "RAUGHRGH!" "MMMMMM?" "WAAH!" "AH-CHOOO!" "WHEW" "MMMMMM") and even noises produced by objects ("BONK!" "BONG!" "BANG!" WHAP!" WOP!" "SWISH!" "BONK!"), a system that could be adapted to standard use with some refinements and additions.

Finally, another problem is that of phonetic transcription. Some symbols not used yet in conventional notations need to be devised. Below are the symbols used on these pages in connection with alternants. They are meant to be as uncomplicated as possible, some of them being susceptible of certain additions when different features concur, without becoming cumbersome.

[◌̥]	unvoiced	[◌→]	drawled
[◌ʰ]	explosive	[◌→→]	overdrawled
[◌ˈ]	click	[◌̆]	clipped
[◌ˮ]	tense click	[◌̆̆]	overclipped
[◌ʷ]	labialized	[◌˽]	closed-lips
[◌˃]	vibrant	[◌†]	pharyngeal
[◌ʔ]	glottal trill	[◌ǂ]	tense pharyngeal
[◌◡]	spasmodic	[◌˥]	velic
[lx]	latero-velar	[ɜ̝] [ɜ̞]	vowels with pharyngeal friction
[lrx]	retrolatero-velar	[ɜ̝] [ɜ̞]	vowels with nasopharyngeal friction
[◌̃]	nasal, nasalized		
[◌ˠ]	nareal	[◌ˤ]	velopharyngeal
[◌ˠˠ]	tense nareal	[◌ˀ]	glottalized
[◌/]	unilateral	[◌-]	abrupt transition, if alone
[◌ᵑ]	ingressive	[◌‿]	smooth transition

In order to comprehend better the presentation of alternants that follows, the reader should pay close attention to those symbols as well as to the following abbreviations:

Art	articulation or production
Tr	phonetic transcription
Lab	labelling
W	writing

Mod: modifiers:
- Pg paralanguage
- K kinesics
- Px proxemics

Srf: self-regulatory function:
- Lg language
- Pg paralanguage
- K kinesics
- Px proxemics
- Chr chronemics

N [illegible]uture

M meaning:
- E encoded
- D decoded
- S shared
- I idiosyncratic

CB conditioning background

Cc cross-cultural similarities/differences

In addition, the following working symbols are used: ( ) encloses linguistic, paralinguistic, kinesic, or proxemic activities that may or may not accompany the one under discussion; / is used between alternatives; w/o means "with or without"; + means "followed by," - means "preceded by."

What follows, then, is a partial inventory of paralinguistic alternants classified and analyzed according to the norms suggested above. Some of the factors mentioned in the preceding list may be lacking in some instances due simply to the absence of a satisfactory solution.

4.5. A brief inventory of alternants: the vocal language beyond words

I would say, at this point, that the importance of primary qualities and modifiers lies in their power to give verbal language the semantic flexibility that no vocabulary can

possess, allowing the speakers to consciously or unconsciously express their most "unexpressable" feelings and thoughts, while revealing an infinite number of inner, even unwanted reactions elicited by their environment and by their fellow interactants in everyday life.

On the other hand, the also extreme importance of alternants is due to the fact that they form virtually a vocabulary beyond the dictionary without which we could communicate only partially in writing, or by making the impossible effort of avoiding both the conscious and the unconscious deliverance of audible ingressions and egressions, of uncontrollable gasps and clicks, of filled pauses and noises produced without the intervention of the vocal cords. Their lexical value, in terms of their semantic content, is so great that I hope that this brief inventory will incite readers to conduct field work and teach themselves much about how speakers, men and women, really communicate with each other.

The following workable classification is used:

- Articulated
  - Consonantal
    - Bilabial
    - Labiodental
    - Whistling
    - Clicks
    - Velar
  - Vocalic
- Inarticulated
- Pausal

4.5.1. Articulated alternants

A. Consonantal alternants. Many of them combine two articulations, but when one of the two is a vowel, thus having a syllabic quality, it is still the consonantal sound that distinguishes it from other alternants and provides a specific meaning. Although I do not specify whether this consonant is voiced or voiceless (for it depends on individual and

subcultural variations that do not alter the meaning), I record different degrees of velar control, of shifts within the area of articulation, of pitches, etc., and refer to "unvoiced" when voicing or phonation is lacking, and to "spasmodic" for truly pseudo-spasmodic sounds that occur intentionally and not as physiological reflexes.

A. 1. Bilabial alternants

1. Art Drawled unvoiced explosive bilabial. Tr[.$p^{h}_{\rightarrow}$] Mod: K Protruding Lips. Srf(a): Lg (What a job!), K Eyes closed/wide-open. Srf(b): Lg (What legs!), K Gazing with wide-open eyes/looking away. If Feedback. N Emblem and affect-display. M SED as unpleasant expectation, surprise, sexual attraction. Cc Also Latin.

2. Art Drawled vibrant bilabial. Tr [$\tilde{B}_{\rightarrow}$]. Lab To shiver, shiver. W Brrr! Srf: Lg (It's cold!/It must be cold out!), K Self-embrace and patting on the sides (half-closed eyes, frowning/wide-open eyes). N Emblem and self-adaptor. M SED as real, expected or imaginary cold. Cc Latins rub both hands (palms, or palms and backs) together.

A. 2. Labiodental alternants

1. Art High-back vowel+ (drawled) labiodental fricative. Tr [uf]/[$uf_{\rightarrow}$]. Mod: Pg Varying drawling; (drawled pharyngeal ingression [$>\dagger_{\rightarrow}$] -), K Open/half-open/closed eyes. Srf(a): Lg (I'm beat!/It's so hot!/It'll be hot!), K (Wiping out real or imaginary perspiration), half-closing eyes, dropping head a few inches. Srf(b): Lg (She's beautiful!/She's really sexy!), K Half-closed/open eyes, raised brows, slight diagonal head-jerk.

2. Art Drawled ingressive labiodental fricative. Tr [$>f_{\rightarrow}$]. W Pf! Mod: Pg Varying drawling, K Distended lips. Srf: Lg (Oh, it hurts!/It must hurt!), K Shaking one's hand/other movements conditioned by actual pain. N Emblem.

3. Art Drawled spasmodic glottalized labiodental fricative. Tr [$^{?}f_{\downarrow}$]. Mod: Pg Varying glottalization and drawling, K Unilateral lip and cheek raising. Srf: Lg (Who

knows!), K Gesture of disbelief, shoulder shrug. If Feedback. N Affect-display, emblem. M SED as disbelief, skepticism.

4. Art Nasalized glottal trill + spasmodic labiodental fricative. Tr [f͡f̃]. Mod: Pg Tense articulation, K (Puckered upper lip). Srf: Lg (I can't stand it!), Pg High pitch, K Puckered upper lip and nose, frowning, half-closed eyes/lips distended slightly downwards. N Emblem, affect-display.

A.3. Whistling alternants

Because of their many functional and semantic affinities, I have grouped under "whistling alternants" a series of eggressive or ingressive articulations that seem to share a hissing (or actual whistling) quality, composed of certain fricatives, like sibilants ([s], [z]) and shibilants ([ʃ], [ʒ]), certain affricates ([t͡ʃ], [p͡f], [t͡s]), and some consonantal clusters ([pst], [st]), besides the different varieties of labial whistling, according to Pike (1943) "a kind of double vocoid in which the front labial partial stricture is of a special type that gives whistle timbre while the lingual stricture controls the pitch," that is, high with front-tongue position, and low with back-tongue position; and dental whistles with "both labial and lingual vocoidal modifications for pitch."

Apart from actual whistling, these are some of the varieties:

1. Art Voiceless bilabial stop + apico-alveolar fricative. Tr [ps] Mod: Pg Tends to clipping. Srf(a): Lg (I don't care!/So what!), K Gesture of indifference. Srf(b): Lg (Hey, you!/Hey!), K Gesture of beckoning. N Emblem, affect-display. M SED as indifference, but unacceptable in North America as beckoning. Cc Typical in Latin countries.

2. Art Apico-alveolar fricative. Tr [s]. Lab To hiss, hiss. W Ss! Mod: Pg Varying duration. K Neutral/

slightly distended lips. Srf: Lg (Waiter!), K Gesture of beckoning. N Emblem. Cc & CB Typical in Latin countries with a hand gesture and raised brows (head-nod), but only in a popular café. Also for calling a woman's attention in the street.

3. Art Apico-alveolar fricative + dental stop. Tr [st]. Mod: K Distended lips raises pitch. Srf(a): Lg (Quiet!), K (Frowning). Srf(b): Spanish, Lg (¡Hola, guapa! "Hi, baby!"), K (Wink). Srf(c): Spanish, K Gesture of beckoning. If Turn-suppressing as hushing. N All emblems. M All SED. Cc b and c common among Spaniards. CB c only at a popular café.

4. Art Apico-alveolar affricate. Tr [t͡s]/[t̪͡s̪]. Lab to tiss, tiss. W Ts!, Tss!. Mod, Srf, If, as in 3. Some drawl it.

5. Art Double apico-alveolar affricate. Tr [t͡s - t͡s]. Lab To double-tiss, double tiss. Mod, Srf, If, as in 3. Cc Common among Spanish males to call a woman's attention in the street as a sexual overture.

6. Art Like 1, but double. Also sexual overture among Spaniards.

Several interesting variables of "paralinguistic sexual overtures" can be observed among Spaniards, the degree of eroticism (and upbringing) usually revealed by the degree of lip-protruding.

A.4. Clicks

Clicks, which are reported as being phonologically utilized only in some African languages (Pike, 1943; Catford, 1968; above all, Stopa, 1972), are actually a rich part of the paralinguistic repertoire of the best-known western cultures. They do not require respiration but suction, and are produced by a double occlusion: a front one (bilabial, apico-alveolar, lateral, vibrant retrolateral) and a dorso-velar one, the air going in when the front occlusion opens abruptly, accompanied or not by nasal phonation. Among the twenty or so I have analyzed so far, are:

1. Art Unilateral bilabial click. Tr [B'/]. Lab Regret click. Mod: Pg Varying articulatory tension. K Unilateral lip distension affects lateralization. Srf: Lg (Oh, well!), K (Shoulder-shrug). If Feedback. N Affect-display and emblem. M SED as regret or disappointment. Cc More common among English speakers.

2. Art Bilabial click. Tr [B']. Lab To kiss, kiss. Mod: Pg Varying articulatory tension, K The shape of the lips conditions the acoustic qualities of the click. Srf Either as a greeting or as an expression of love and/or sexual desire, the kiss regulates the kinesic and proxemic behaviors of the interactant in many ways. M SED. Cc & CB Numerous factors can be analyzed, such as interesting cross-cultural varieties depending upon exact placement of the kiss, the type of sound produced, the degree of loudness or the lack of it, the accompanying kinesic behavior, and the setting in which it takes place; all these factors varying according, not only to culture, but to sex, social status, and personality characteristics.

3. Art Dorso-palatal click + drawled pharyngeal egression. Tr [tz'$\underset{\rightarrow}{\dagger}$]. Lab To smack one's palate, palatal smack. Mod: Pg Varying pharyngeal friction, K Often wide-open mouth after release of click. Srf: Lg (+ Good wine!), Pg Emphasis lengthens pharyngeal egressive friction, K Half-/wide-open mouth (+ open/closed eyes). N Emblem. M SED as enjoyment of good food or drink. CB Standard among pseudo-educated and rustics in several cultures.

4. Art Apico-alveolar click + clipped pharyngeal ingression. Tr [tz'>†]. Lab Pre-speech click. Mod: Pg Varying ingression. Srf: Lg (Wait/Well.../You musn't say that), K (Lip-moistening/lip-moistening + [tz'>†], like Nixon during a speech), Px Unconsciously, regardless of distance, even on the phone. If Feedback/turn-claiming/ turn-suppressing. N Regulator. M IE/IED/SED, as intention to speak, or to stop someone from saying something.

5. Art Single/double apico-alveolar click. Tr [tz'] / [tz'-tz']. Lab Disapproval click. Mod: K (Unilateral tense lip-distension). Srf: Lg (Naughty boy/How could you?/Wrong), K Double headshake (frowning/raised brows)/fixed gaze, almost no K signs/shaking index finger at someone. If Can be turn-suppressing. N Emblem, affect-display/affect-blend (disapproval-disappointment). M SED as criticism, scolding, etc.

6. Art Apico-alveolar click. Tr [tz']. Lab Negation click. Mod: K Slight unilateral lip-distension raises pitch, protruding lips lower it. Srf: Lg (Verbal negation), Pg (+ single/double negation vowel, or its closed-lip variant, [ʔə̃ᶻ] / [ʔə̃ᶻˣ]), K (Unilateral/bilateral headshake, raised/lowered brows, w/o raised index finger/slight finger shake at someone). If Feedback/turn-claiming/turn-suppressing. N Emblem. M SED as negation.

7. Art Apico-alveolar click. Tr [tz']. Srf: Lg (Well, come on!/It's getting late/About time!), Pg (+ drawled tense nareal friction/drawled tense nareal friction-), K + tense lateral mouth-distension/tense lateral mouth distension-, (closed eyes/raised gaze), foot-tapping/finger-rapping, hastening hand-gesture). M SED/IE/ID as impatience, contempt, irritation.

8. Art Latero-velar click. Tr [lx']. Srf(a): Lg (+/Gee up!). Srf(b): Spanish, Lg (+/¡Fuera!, "Out," to throw out, or chase away, a dog; or, mostly jokingly, a person). Srf(c): Spanish, Lg (¡Se acabó!, "And that's it!"). Srf(d): Spanish, Lg (¡Qué fresco!, "The nerve," or the like). Srf(e): Afghanistan, Lg (meaning "Damn it!" or the like). Srf(f): Afghanistan, Kenya, to express disgust. Srf(g): Kenya, K Shaking head abruptly, to express anger. N Emblem, affect-display, M SED. Cc & CB b, c, and d, not common among the educated, but most common among Castilian small-town people.

A.5. Velar alternants

Art Lower high-front to mid-central nasalized gliding vowel + tense velo-pharyngeal fricative. Tr [ɪə̃ɦ]. Mod:

Pg Varying velar control and vowel location, and articulatory tension, K Distended mouth (raised nose, frowning). Srf: Lg (Oh, I can't stand the sight of it!), K(Pincing one's nose if something smells badly/gesture of dismissal). N Emblem; affect-display if not physical reaction. M SED as repugnance.

B. Vocalic alternants. They are mainly glottalized (voiced) central vowel-like sounds (mostly [ə] and [ɔ]) with up to five pitch levels and varying nasalization, each of which has a closed-lip variant with identical or almost identical meaning, sometimes appearing in abruptly or smoothly linked pairs, the second element with pharyngeal friction ([ʚ] / [ʚ̃]); some appear as gliding vowels. I refer to "closed-lip variants" (Clv) because one tends to articulate the vowel with the lips closed. Among the classified vocalic alternants are:

1. Art Overdrawled mid-central glottalized vowel/Clv, pitch 1. Tr [ʔə$^{1}_{\rightarrow\rightarrow}$] /[ʔə$^{1}_{\times}$]. Lab Hesitation vowel. Srf: Pg (+apico-alveolar click [tz']/drawled pharyngeal ingression [>†] -), K Neutral face/lowered or raised brows/biting lower lip, frowning or lowering one eyelid; in Clv, protruding/receding lips. If Hesitating turn-taking/turn-claiming. N Emblem/affect-display. Cc Typically Anglo-American, but European borrowing through TV, live interviews, etc., can be observed. In Spain, for instance, "lexical" hesitation is more common.

2. Art Glottalized gliding mid-to-higher-back vowel (Clv), pitches 2-3. Tr [ʔ^{23}ɔ°] /[^{23}ɔ°]/[$^{23}_{\times}$ɔ]. Lab Interrogation vowel. Mod: Pg Varying velar control (nasalization) and pitch. Srf: Lg (Is that so?/Tell me about it), K Lowered/raised brows (half-nod,[postural shift to listen]), Px (Shortening distance to speaker). If Feedback, turn-offering. N Emblem. M SED as interest.

3. Art Overdrawled labialized higher mid-back vowel (Clv), pitch 3. Tr [o$^{3}_{\rightarrow\rightarrow}$]/[o$^{1}_{\times}$]. Lab Estimation vowel. W Oooh..✓

Ooow... Mod: Pg Varying drawling and pitch (3 to 1). Srf: Lg (About), Pg The "wilder" the guess (or the more emphasis), the higher the pitch, as a rule, K Protruding/receding lips. Cc While in English one says "We were, oooh...thirty people," in other languages, as in Spanish, the tendency may be to using "estimating" words.

4. Art Double mid-central vowel (Clv), pitches 2-3. Tr [ə^{23}-ə^{23}]/[ə^{23}-ə^{23}×]. Lab Affirmation vowel. Mod: Pg Varying velar control, duration, and pitch (also 2-2); it may vary to [ɔ]. Srf: Lg (Verbal affirmation), Pg(Pharyngeal ingression [>↑]-), K (Single/double head-nod/single nod, eye-wink); no K may reveal doubt. If Necessary as alternating or simultaneous feedback for smooth flow; also in the invisible dyad. N Emblem, variations can be affect-displays; both may act as regulators. M SED as affirmation. CB Mostly by adults and "mature" children, as this type of feedback is not common in children. Cc While it is Anglo-American standard, and much borrowed in other cultures, it is never heard, for instance, among Spanish rustics (but I know farmers around tourist resorts who use it). Here, and in many other instances, the reader must be aware of the fact that Anglicisms in the Spanish-speaking world are not only lexical and syntactical, as registered by a growing research on that topic, but paralinguistic and kinesic as well.

5. Art Drawled glottalized mid-central nasalized gliding vowel (Clv), pitches 4-2. Tr [ˀə̃$^{41}_{\rightarrow 2}$] /[ˀə̃$^{41}_{\rightarrow 2}$×]. Lab Agreement vowel. Mod: Pg Pitch height depends on emphasis. Cc Many Anglo-American speakers use the closed-lip variant to agree with expressions like "Nice day," Too expensive."

6. Art Double glottalized mid-central vowel (Clv), pitches 2-2/3-2. Tr [ˀə$^{2}_{\downarrow}$-ˀə$^{2}_{\downarrow}$]/[ˀə$^{3}_{\downarrow}$-ˀə$^{2}_{\downarrow}$]/[ˀə$^{3}_{\downarrow}$-ə$^{2}_{\downarrow}$×]. Lab Negation vowel. W Ah-ah, Uh-uh. Mod: Pg Varying velar control, can be very nasal; 3-2 emphasizes; it may change to[ɔ]. Srf: Lg (Verbal negation), Pg ([tz']-), K Unilateral/bilateral/double

headshake (frowning). If Turn-claiming/turn-taking, after pre-speech [tz'>]. N Emblem, affect-display/affect-blend. CB The more informal, the more emphatic (as with children).

7. Art Glottalized gliding mid-to-higher-back vowel (Clv), pitches 3-2. Tr [ʔɔ•]/[ʔɔ×]/British [ʔə•]. Lab Surprise vowel. Mod: Pg Varying velar control, emphatic by raising pitch and by drawling. Srf: Lg (I see!/Is that so?!), K Slight head-lift, raised brows. If Feedback. M SD, but not always SD without context.

8. Art Overdrawled trilled glottalized gliding mid-central-to-back vowel (Clv), pitches 2-1. Tr [ʔə⁾]/[ʔə×⁾]. Lab Displeasure moan. Mod: Pg Varying drawling and vowel quality, varying articulatory tension in direct proportion to displeasure. Srf: K (Facial signs of disgust, irritation, since subject may be waking up, or tired, or unwilling to do something, even serious thinking). If Feedback/turn-suppressing. M SED/IE only ("Ooh, let me sleep," "Ooh, not now," "I'm beat!").

9. Art Overdrawled glottalized nasopharyngeal trilled gliding mid-to-higher back vowel (Clv), pitches 4-2. Tr [ʔɣ⁾] [ʔɣ×⁾]. Lab Sensual moan. Mod:Pg The higher the pitch and the more drawling, the more feminine, sensual and/or erotic; trilling increases with muscular tension until released to open-glottis voicing. Srf: Lg, Pg Words and/or alternants heavily modified by velar, glottalic, pharyngeal and respiratory controls. K From simple stretching (in real or imaginary pleasure to "Marilyn Monroe's moan," to erotic play with closed eyes, open/closed mouth distension. N Affect-display, may act as stereotyped emblem, as in movie actresses.

C. Inarticulated alternants. Although I could have followed those who made an effort to demonstrate the articulatory possibilities from an "anthropophonemic" point of view (referring to the actual stricture types among the infinite variety of what is "pronounceable"), I have termed "inarticulated"

those semantic constructs formed by pharyngeal, nasopharyngeal, and nareal friction, precisely because, having been discarded until now as non-phonemic articulations, I am trying to stress their enormous significance in personal interaction. I will comment on the following examples:

1. Art Clipped pharyngeal/velic/nasopharyngeal ingression. Tr [>†]/[†]/[†]. Lab Short pre-speech inspiration. Mod: Pg (Almost simultaneous with the apico-alveolar click, [tz'>†]). Srf: Lg (Verbal turn-claiming), Pg (Hesitation vowel/hesitation inspiration), K (+ moistening lips/moistening lips-, and putting tongue out-in, w/o hand forward, as for stopping someone, when turn-claiming suppressing). If Turn-claiming/turn-suppressing. N Regulator and/or affect-display. M SED with claiming/suppressing gesture, IE possible. CB Common in a nervous person, or under tension, as in a heated conversation.

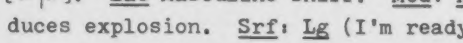
2. Art Pharyngeal ingression. Tr [>†]. Lab Pre-speech inspiration. Mod: K Biting lower lip (upper is more feminine) modifies friction to a sort of labiodental. Srf: Lg (Oh, no!/No, wait!/Well...), K Raised/lowered brows. If Same as 1. M SED as fear of speaker's comment, desire to cut in, or correct his statement.

3. Art Drawled pharyngeal ingression. Tr [>†]. Lab Post-speech inspiration. Srf: Lg (+ And that's the story of my life), Pg (+ nareal egression with closed lips [Y×]/initiated apico-alveolar click [tz']), K + pressed lips/brief kinesic pause-/+posture shift. If Can be turn-yielding. N Regulator. M SED as end of statement or speech.

4. Art Ingressive closed-lip nareal friction. Tr [>Y×]. Lab Resignation sniff. Srf: Lg (Oh, well), Pg (Resignation click [tz']), K Slightly raised brows, unilateral lip-distension (typical of actress Giuletta Massina). N Affect-display, but also affect-blend. M SED as resignation, naive pride, depending on situational context.

5. Art Tense spasmodic glottalized nasopharyngeal friction. Tr []. Mod: Pg Varying pitch with slight semantic change. Srf: K Neutral face/pressed lips and unilateral mouth-distension, abdominal and head jerk. M SED/IE/ID as skepticism, amusement, contempt, cynicism.

6. Art Ingressive closed-lip nareal friction. Tr [ ]. Lab Masculine sniff. Mod: K Pincing one's nose produces explosion. Srf: Lg (I'm ready/There I go!/Boy, I'd like to get her!), K Unilateral mouth and nose distension pincing the nose with thumb and side of index finger and then releasing it). N Emblem, affect-display. M SED as readiness, decision/ID as nervous tic. CB Besides being mostly masculine, tension and K modifier increase with poor upbringing and sensitiveness.

7. Art Drawled pharyngeal ingression + drawled nasopharyngeal/nareal egression (Clv). Tr []. Lab Sigh. Mod: Pg Narealization produced by X modifier, that is, by closed lips. Srf: Lg (Different verbal expressions of affect); egression modifies simultaneous verbal utterance (whispered or voiced), K Raised brows + lowered brows (bilateral/unilateral lip-distension). If (Feedback) N Affect-display. M SED/IE/ID as distress, indifference, relief. CB More feminine than masculine, more in old age. Cc Typical among women in church in a Latin country, alone or modifying their praying or expressions like Spanish "¡Ay, Dios mio!"

D. Pausal alternants. A pause, whether in speech, in kinesics, or in proxemics, may occur accompanied by noticeable variations of the two respiratory phases, that is, as an audible pause, due perhaps to physical exhaustion, an emotional state, etc., thus not lacking a semantic content. But even when there is a complete gap from the point of view of audible activity, that is, in a silent pause, that portion of silence has a definite structure marked by duration, kinesic and proxemic indicators, and situational context.

While some authors, like Boomer and Dittmann (1962), distinguish between juncture pauses (as syntactically regular) and hesitation pauses (as syntactically irregular), I have suggested the following types of "unfilled" pauses within paralinguistic alternants (applicable, actually, to other activities), but beyond the hesitation clicks, post-speech clicks, and ingressive and egressive frictions discussed above as pausal phenomena:[6]

1. Transitional pause. It occurs at turning points in conversation or interaction, whether passing from one topic to another, or from one part of the "story" to the next. It may be prompted also by postural shifts, proxemic and situational shifts (standing up to leave, or on seeing someone approaching, etc.).

2. Initiatory pause. It does not indicate hesitancy, but simply that once the topic (or the action, for that matter) has been decided upon there may be, and usually is, a brief moment of mental "organization," of taking an initial impulse that will develop and maintain the activity. I might add that it is possible to distinguish this pause from the one immediately preceding it, which could be a termination pause, the transition between both being marked by blinking, lip-moistening, postural shifts, etc.

3. Hesitation pause. While hesitancy offers several audibly filled pauses (just as the first two types do), it is shown also by means of the gaze vaguely fixed on the floor, on the ceiling, or on a point in infinity (as if looking for a cue there), by a visually perceptible inspiration movement, by blinking, an insecure smile, pincing one's eyebrows with thumb and index finger. etc.

4. Feedback-seeking pause. This one is shown mainly by staring at the other interactant(s), lips parted perhaps, perhaps smiling, or frowning at suspected failure, putting the tongue out and in once, etc., or the more showy pause displayed, as part of his repertoire, by a comedian, who does all

these things more consciously, both hands on his chest, or arms akimbo, loosely hanging over the sides, or open as in a "come-on" gesture.

5. Termination pause. Besides using a post-speech click, or a pharyngeal ingression, the speaker may indicate the conclusion of his activity by unconsciously taking breath in, shutting his mouth tight, shifting his posture, etc., or consciously clasping both hands, smiling, opening his arms as in a "that's all" gesture, etc.

Much could be elaborated on the various types of pausal alternants and their structural relationships with pausal phenomena in other communicative activities.

As it is suggested in Experiences and Field-Work Projects, the readers are invited, not only to try to verify all the alternants and other paralinguistic features here discussed, but to observe behavior closely enough to add to this basic corpus other paralinguistic activities not dealt with in this book. The seriously interested will soon discover that he understands the meaning of people's behavior, if not beyond doubt sometimes, much better anyhow than when they relied mostly on language and too little on nonverbal communication.

CHAPTER 5

KINESICS: COMMUNICATION THROUGH GESTURES, MANNERS AND POSTURES

Since, unlike paralanguage, the theoretical and methodological principles of kinesics are easily available in several recent textbooks and readers on nonverbal communication, in one anthological book by Birdwhistell, and in numerous articles on different aspects of body motion, the present chapter is limited, for the purposes of this monograph, to: defining the field of kinesics and some of the concepts included in kinesic research, briefly pointing out its development in order to offer some useful references, thus making the reader acquainted with the purely scientific, as well as with the pseudo-scientific books now popular in the market; explaining the linguistic-kinesic analogy on which the analysis of body motion is based, as a practicable framework for the reader's own systematic observation and research projects; and, with this aim in mind, presenting the methodology which I consider best for the preparation of cultural, subcultural, cross-cultural, or group repertoires, that is, how to go about: observing, selecting and recording the material, illustrating it by means of film, photographs or drawings, using informants as well as literary sources, and presenting the collection in terms of: classification, distribution and labelling, description, and the various contextual variables.

5.1. The science of kinesics and the pseudo-science

5.1.1. I would like to define kinesics as: the systematic study of psychomuscularly-based body movements and/or their resulting positions, either learned or somatogenic, of visual, visual-acoustic and tactile or kinesthetic perception, that, whether isolated or combined with the linguistic-paralinguistic structures and with the situational

context, possess communicative value, either in a conscious way or out of awareness.

The principles of kinesics and of kinesic research were first publicized twenty-four years ago by the anthropologist-psychiatrist (who now calls himself anthropological kinesicist) Ray L. Birdwhistell (1952), mainly of the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute, who was already convinced that body motion communication was learned, structured and susceptible of being broken down into isolable elements (to which one should, of course, add: and dependent on the somatogenic configuration of the individual). Since then, under his theoretical and methodological influence and that of descriptive and structural linguists, other investigators have advanced different aspects of body behavior analysis, either from an emotion-conveying psychological point of view, or from a communicational angle as part of the face-to-face interactive social process.

Although some specific studies will be referred to in the pages that follow, I would like to mention at this point that the search for the structurating laws of language, paralanguage and kinesics in personal interaction has received the closest attention in the work of social psychologists like Starkey Duncan (1973a, 1973b) and Adam Kendon (1967, 1971b), who at this writing is preparing the publication resulting from a recent international conference on face-to-face interaction (1975). Kendon, for instance, is very interested in gaze behavior between interactants, its duration and direction, and its effect on each other according to sex, social status and other variables, as well as a rich source of feedback and emotional cues. Experiments by others have demonstrated, for example, that pupil behavior (which one should subsume under body movement, that is, kinesics) can be an important subject of interaction research since, among other observed reactions, a man's pupils dilate while looking at a

"cheesecake" picture of a woman. The face, in general, has been intensively studied for its paramount communicative role by Paul Ekman (1972) and others, while the role of kinesic behavior in psychiatric interviews has been painstakingly proved by minute analyses of a few-minute slices of therapist-patient transactions, of which two excellent models are the still unpublished, but available, The Natural History of an Interview, edited by N. McQuown and others (1971), and Communicational Structure: Analysis of a Psychotherapy Transaction, by currently Bronx State Hospital's Albert Scheflen (1973). Scheflen, intensively interested also in kinesics and language in relation to culture and social organization, has examined "facial expression, posture, body movement and touch in relation to larger contexts of group processes and the social order as a whole" (1972), and was one of the invited participants at the conference mentioned in 1.1. Birdwhistell himself, often in fruitful association with Scheflen, McQuown and others, has lately (1970) put together the best exponents of his structural and methodological studies in the area of kinesic research and specially in his linguistic-kinesic analogy (for which he acknowledges his debt to linguists Henry Smith, George Trager and Norman McQuown). In sections 16 and 18 of this book, for instance, the author explains his progress towards analyzing the American movement system, specifying that, among the more than twenty thousand different facial expressions that are somatically possible, they had been able to isolate thirty-two kinemes (smallest significant units, described below) in the face and head area (three types of head nods, four kinemes of brow behavior, four degrees of lid closure, four nose behaviors, etc.), but that they vary "dialectically," just as speech does, throughout the country. He also identified a number of "kinesic markers" (which are "particular movements that occur regularly in association with or in substitution for certain syntactical arrangements in speech"), four degrees

of "kinesic stress," and parakinesic qualities (see 5.2.3) of intensity, frequency, extent of movement, and duration. In sections 26 and 27, written as chapters for The Natural History of an Interview, Birdwhistell attempts to sensitize his readers to the kinesic scene, and presents the current state of kinesics in its relationship to language, giving us a detailed account of the theory and methodology of kinesic research so far, and showing an eighteen-minute interactional sequence, its analysis and the problems involved in it. Finally, in the appendices, he presents his original 1952 kinegraphic transcription system of symbols and pictographs according to Birdwhistell's division of the body into eight sections (differing from Kendon's, mentioned in 3.3.2): total head, face, trunk, shoulder, arm and wrist, hand and finger activity, hip, leg and ankle, foot activity and walking, and neck (each one showing a number of distinctive kinemes. Finally, the book contains a 1960 example of conversation linguistically, paralinguistically and kinesically transcribed; and, confusingly enough, another selection from Birdwhistell's contribution to the Natural History of an Interview with a more advanced microkinesic system for recording and notation.

Those who feel like going through all this very valuable but not too organized book by the first authority in kinesics had better read first (with a view to their possible own kinesic field work and recording) two reviews of it: one by psychologist Allen Dittman (1971) in which he disagrees with the kinesic-linguistic analogy, and a more extensive one, with an important personal contribution, by Adam Kendon (1972). Likewise, they would profit from resorting to the abbreviated notational system devised by Adam Kendon, in case Birdwhistell's more complicated one should not be needed. It is quite an irony, I must say, that a book like Kinesics and Context, subtitled "Essays on Body Communication," should appear in its pocket-book edition with the "usual" commercial

sexy cover which must cheaply deceive many looking for an entertaining book on "body language."

5.1.2. That is what I had in mind when I referred to "pseudo-science" in the title of this section, and that alluring cover reveals quite eloquently the current interest among avid readers of the know-your-male-and-female-fellow-humans books in oversimplifying explanations of what body movements and postures mean from a rather limited psychodynamic point of view. Readers are made believe that they are actually being taught how to interpret beyond doubt the sitting postures of the persons in whom they are sexually interested, the gestures of their bosses, etc., by means of unfortunate generalizations that seem to ignore cultural and subcultural differences, socioeconomic and environmental variables and, of course, certain somatogenic conditioning factors. This is not saying that their authors do not hit the nail right on the head sometimes in their interpretations of certain body movements, nor that they do not quote investigators accurately, but that in the final analysis their books are often a series of dispersed second-hand observations gleaned from different sources and presented in a rather dogmatic fashion with no serious personal contribution. Besides, although they may lack even a basic outline of kinesic methodology, they do not explain that a serious scientific way of dealing with kinesics does exist and is used in the analysis of both normal and pathological individuals, which produces a very superficial image of the field as something based only on impressionistic judgment and lucky intuition. This is, more or less, what happens, for instance, with Julius Fast's Body Language (1970), which at the end asks its readers to go ahead and observe their behavior and that of others and interpret it, without having actually offered the means to do such a thing.

So, when the cover of the pocket-book edition of How To Read a Person Like a Book by G. Nierenberg and H. Calero

(1971) promises you, above the typical picture of the sexy girl, "What Body Language Didn't Tell You!," and, right by her mini-skirted legs, "A Key to the 'Silent Language' of Hidden Thoughts," you are being less shortchanged than with other similar books, and I would recommend it to the readers of this monograph for four reasons: first, because the authors, experts themselves in negotiating techniques and genuinely interested in the role of nonverbal communication in such techniques, have conducted a number of seminars and recorded many negotiating situations; in other words, they have conducted research and have followed a specific method; secondly, although on occasions it is easy to disagree with certain generalizations, they show a sincere preoccupation for correct interpretation as well as for the importance of congruence and incongruity of gestures in relation to language and to other kinesic behaviors; thirdly, they offer an interesting and copious thematic classification and an even more useful labelling of gestures displayed in negotiating encounters, both listed in a cross-reference index; and finally, because their line-drawing illustrations are simply excellent, and (as it will be discussed later) always show the facial expressions concomitant to the hand gesture or to the posture discussed. Still, of course, such a book can hardly be called scientific, as it does not utilize a systematic analytic scheme taking into account the coding of meaning and the different rules of interaction as conditioned by psychological and socioeconomic variables, among other factors. It is, however, an excellent collection of keen observations, and the reader could elaborate on it and even take it as a basis for his own research and field-work projects; and, from a scientific point of view, for observing what it lacks more than what it offers.

At any rate, those books, as well as a good number of articles in very different popular magazines, have made people curiously aware of "how one talks with his gestures and

postures," if only that; which simply adds to the interest among Americans for the behavioral sciences in their "non-fiction," "book-of-the-month" and paperback type of publication, more so if that knowledge of oneself and others includes the erotic side of daily life. And yet, there is a majority, even among academics, that ignores the term kinesics, which is often mistaken for kinesiology (the study of human movement from the point of view of the physical sciences) and for kinesthesis (the neuromuscular perception of one's body position in space). At the same time, however, one reads occasionally a well-written journalistic piece of information on kinesics and current kinesic research and researchers, such as one by Flora Davis in The New York Times Magazine (1970).

5.2. The scientific description of body movement and the linguistic-kinesic analogy

An interesting literature contributed by anthropology, psychology, social psychology, psychiatry and linguistics could be cited to review historically the great interest shown in body behavioral communication, if only from Darwin's 1872 classic The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, Sapir's (1931, 1933) conviction that body movements responded to an encoding and decoding system that had to be studied, or the also classic book on New York Jews and Italians, by Efrón (1941), to prove that, against Nazist theories, basic body behavior was not racially inherited but culturebound. However, it was descriptive and structural linguistics, aided by the appearance of the movie camera, the tape recorder and modern videotape equipment that offered the nascent science of kinesics the possibility of carrying out the type of micro-kinesic analysis used by Birdwhistell and others today for the recording of body behavioral units and their structuration in the context of their communicative stream (as in McQuown et al, 1971, and Scheflen, 1973).

5.2.1. I referred earlier to kineme as the basic unit of significant body motion used by Birdwhistell in analogy to phoneme, and to the fact that he has identified so many kinemes in the various parts of the body. I would suggest that, put together in a chart-like fashion, the resulting kinemic representation would be analogous to the phonemic chart of a language. Furthermore, one could draw a human body and indicate the different articulatory parts where specific movements are formed. The phonetic-kinetic representation of the head, for instance, would be particularly interesting, for it would show: internally, the speech organs (teeth, lips, tongue [tip, blade, front, back], etc.), and externally, or anatomically, the facial moving parts (eyebrows [high, middle, low, knit], eyelids [raised, lowered], pupil [dilated, contracted], mouth, etc.). The most important inference drawn from such a representation would be the close interrelatedness of vocal and kinesic communicative behaviors in the face area, as demonstrated by the performance of paralinguistic qualifiers such as labial control, maxillary control and even what (from an anatomical point of view only, not included in my classification of qualifiers) could be termed nasal control. The whining gesture of wrinkled nose is congruent with, and conditions, the heavy nasalization typical of such a behavior. In other words, although much interesting elaboration could and should be carried out in this respect, I am simply emphasizing the relevance not only of the linguistic-kinesic analogy, but of the actual morphological, anatomical and semantic interdependence of the speech and movement communicational streams.

5.2.2. Returning now to the linguistic analogy, I would like to outline it for the readers as follows:

Just as there is a bewildering number of sounds anthropophonetically possible, of which we use only a limited portion in each individual language, there is also a staggering number

of anthropokinetically possible bits of body motion (twenty-two thousand in the face only, as I mentioned before), of which only a specific number seem to constitute the distinctive kinemic system of each culture.

Now, each of those semantically distinctive movements (a wink eye-closure, a skeptical brow knit, an affirmative head nod) that make up our kinesic, or rather, kinemic, system, is a kineme, just as each unreplaceable sound (pit, kit, nit, sit) that makes up our phonetic system is called a phoneme.

However, a phoneme is not a single sound, although we treat it as such when we speak or hear others speak, no matter where they come from. A cup of tea said with unaspirated [t] is just as good as a cup of tea said with aspirated [t'], because aspiration/nonaspiration is not a distinctive feature in English speech and they are not different phonemes; just as the various realizable positional degrees of the eye-lid closure continuum of a wink (not counting additional modifiers, like cheek, brow, etc.) are not different kinemes, being understood by us (at least in our culture) as a wink, without differentiating between so-and-so's type of eye-lid closure and so-and-so's slight variation from it. Thus, that series of similar movements are called allokines, or kine variants, that make up a kineme, just as the several sounds that make up a phoneme are called allophones. And just as a phoneme cannot be "pronounced" because it is not a single sound but an abstract unit, so a kineme is not "movable" but realized only through one of its allokines.

Next, going up the morphological linguistic-kinesic analogy, one finds that, just as a pronounceable series of phonemes, or morph, form a minimal unit of speech called morpheme (friend [free morpheme], un-friend-ly [bound morphemes]), the combination of movable particles of body motion, or kinemorphs, are joined into kinemorphemes (a wink eye-closure by itself [free kinemorpheme], the same closure +

raised cheek + unilateral upward mouth-distension [bound kinemorpheme]).

Beyond this point, Birdwhistell (1970) tells us: "Until we become much more secure as to the morphology and syntactics of kinesics (even for American English movers) our emic assignments must be registered as tentative." One should expect, however, the kinesicist's further kinemorphological and kinesyntactical constructs similar to sentences and paragraphs.

Besides these segmental units, Birdwhistell (1968) explained how certain body motion features apart from kinemes, kinemorphemes and complex kinemorphemic constructions, which were at first dismissed as muscular, skeletal or skin phenomena in speech production, were later given the status of suprasegmental stress kinemes when the correlation of spoken and moved behaviors were analyzed in sound-filmed sequences of interaction. As a result, his kinesic analysis could show four degrees of stress (primary, secondary, tertiary or unstressed, and destressed), and, according to earlier research, four kinesic terminal junctures, as well as "one and perhaps two" internal kinesic junctures.

5.2.3. As for the other subarea of kinesic analysis, beyond the segmental and suprasegmental elements just mentioned, Birdwhistell (1970) has also distinguished four parakinesic "motion qualifiers" which I will reduce, for the purpose of this monograph, to three and define them as follows:

Intensity, or muscular tension (akin to stress and articulatory tension): movement overtense--tense--medium--lax--overlax.

Range, or extent of the movement (similar to syllabic duration): overwide--wide--medium--narrow--overnarrow.

Velocity, or temporal length of the movement (similar to tempo of speech): overfast--fast--medium--slow--overslow.

From a practical point of view, I would advise the readers to pay special attention to the parakinesic qualities of the field-work materials gathered from observation of kinesic

behavior in the classroom, in church, at a party, etc., although they would also identify basic kinemes and some kinemorphemes and kinemorphemic constructs relatively easily in comparison with the greater difficulty encountered when attempting to go beyond those units. The parakinesic modifiers of intensity, range, and velocity would serve to differentiate, among other conditioning factors: (a) cultural differences, as the wide-range, Vittorio de Sicca-style gestures typical of Italians, or the short-range ones of British army officers; the intensity displayed by Latins and Arabs in comparison with the more restrained Anglo-Saxons; or the fastness of Italian gestures parallel to their loquacity; (b) situational contexts, as intensity, range and velocity are repressed in a cold encounter, but increased at a party in direct proportion to alcohol consumption, time elapsed, and successive encounters.

5.3. The subject of kinesics and the differentiation of gestures, manners and postures

5.3.1. I trust the readers will have been convinced by now of the seriousness of kinesics, the relevance of studying the kinesic behavior of normal as well as pathological persons, either within one's culture or cross-culturally, and the necessity to integrate this study into the analysis of the complete communicative complex (mainly the basic triple structure), all done with scientific rigor, gradually improved by the introduction of new refinements.

Since the study of body movements and positions merits the attention of cultural and social anthropologists, biologists and physiologists, psychologists and psychiatrists, ethnologists, folklorists, etc., I would not fail to mention the importance of studying animal body behavior, mainly in its communicative functions, not only in itself but as a basis for comparison of man and nonhuman species. I should at least recommend to the readers an article (accompanied by an

excellent bibliographic guide) by Thomas Sebeok (1969) on animal communication, written in support of the rich area of research he termed zoosemiotics (a blending of semiotics and ethology [the biological study of behavior], devoted mainly to animal communication.) In it we can distinguish anthroposemiotic systems (language above all) and certain zoosemiotic systems shared by man and other species, such as coded paralinguistic sounds, kinesics and proxemics.

Although those anthroposemiotic systems co-existing with verbal language are the only concern of this monograph, the readers must acknowledge the fact that, according to zoosemiotics, all animals are social beings possessing characteristic systems of communication, whether visual, acoustic, tactile and chemical, or a combination of some of them, and that--to keep within the limits of this chapter--what we could call zookinesics would cover the comparative investigation of human-nonhuman facial expressions and other behaviors displayed in greetings, playing, courting, mourning the dead, fighting, etc., chiefly by primates. Jane Goodall's (1971) rigorous and enjoyable account of chimpanzee life and behavior, or the well documented comparative analysis of laughter and smiling in man and primates, by Hooff (1972), prove this point.

5.3.2. The study of body motion behavior, however, has almost always lacked the necessary attention to three types of kinesic phenomena whose differentiation I deem essential for systematic research and, above all, for field work: gestures, manners and postures. Such differentiation, although it may present overlapping problems in some instances, is theoretically and methodologically sound for any anthropological, sociological, psychological, or literary study of body behavior, and the subject-matter of kinesics should be defined in terms of this tripartite classification. Apart from a few studies on manners (Hall, 1955) and references to

them in psychosocial analyses (Goffman, 1956, 1963), or typical secondary observations on postures (Nierenberg and Calero, 1971; Barakat, 1973), kinesic research, outside the work on posture by psychiatrists (Deutsch, 1947, 1952; Scheflen, 1964, 1972, 1973) and by the anthropologist Gordon Hewes (1955), has invariably concentrated on intentionally communicative gestures, that is, the characteristic repertoires of certain cultures (Efrón, 1941; Saitz and Cervenka, 1962; Green, 1968), completely disregarding how their subjects behave at the table, shake hands, sit in a classroom, at a party, etc., or occasionally including those behaviors within gestures. And yet those movements and positions of the body communicate so much about cultures and individuals that their study not only contributes to a much deeper knowledge of man in general, but can prevent a great deal of miscommunication and misunderstanding for those who resort to books on "gestures" expecting to find in them the rules of behavior by which to live in a given culture and interact properly with its members.

I will offer the following definitions of what I understand by gesture, manner, and posture:

Gesture is a conscious or unconscious body movement made mainly with the head, the face alone or the limbs, learned or somatogenic, and serving as a primary communicative tool, dependent or independent from verbal language, either simultaneous or alternating with it, and modified by the conditioning background. Examples: smiles, eye movements, a gesture of beckoning, a nervous tic, etc.

Manner, although similar to gesture, is a more or less dynamic body attitude that, while somatogenically modified, is mainly learned and socially codified according to specific situations, either simultaneous or alternating with verbal language. Examples: the way one eats at the table, greets others, coughs, stretches, etc.

Posture is a conscious or unconscious general position of the body, rather static but resulting from a previous movement (gesture or manner), learned or somatogenic, either

simultaneous or alternating with verbal language, modified by social norms and by the rest of the conditioning background, and used less as a communicative tool, although it may reveal affective states and social status. Examples: sitting postures (arrived at through manners [flopping down, bending forward first]), joining both hands behind one's back while walking, studying with the elbows on the desk, etc.

5.3.3. If I may return to my complaint about the undue limitation of books on "gestures," I will point out that the above definitions of manners and postures prove how much we should know about them, and not only from a scientific point of view, nor in order to learn about "the apes and us," but simply to know ourselves and our fellow human beings a little better than we do at the moment. To think that in order to understand the "body language" of the Arabs, the Russians or the Spaniards before we establish contact with them we can rely on a book of Arab, Russian, or Spanish gestures that tells us (not <u>show</u> us, but <u>tell</u> us, which is so different) how they beckon others with their hands, how they signify by gestures concepts like money, drinking, hurry, beautiful, intercourse, etc., is pure nonsense. A good portion of their "body language" consists, not of emblematic "gestures" that can amuse us when they differ from ours, but of the way in which they position their bodies, greet us, eat a piece of bread in different situational contexts, drink up a glass of beer or wine, sit on a couch, or lie on a beach. Let us think of our own culture, of the people we are more likely to observe and live with. If the reader is a student, let him or her observe the manners and postures of the rest of the class for a while: when they raise their hands, when they walk into the room, when they close a door behind, when they sit, when they are seated; if he or she is a professor, the subject of observation could be other colleagues gathered at a faculty room over a cup of coffee, or at a seated meeting, being interviewed perhaps. In other words, let us

concentrate for a while on behaviors that, besides emblematic gestures, can give us a good idea about other people's upbringing, sensitiveness, respect or disrespect for others, socioeconomic status, occupation; let us observe, looking for recurrent behaviors, professors, students, doctors, nurses, waiters and waitresses, bank tellers, car salesmen, janitors, farmers, etc., and we will find that what sets them apart kinesically, what makes a stewardess attractive, a student likable, a waitress pleasant, a doctor reassuring, a nurse perfectly familiar, is not what they say to us (language), but how they say it (paralanguage), and not just the anatomy of their bodies and the style of their clothes and the conversational, colloquial face and hand gestures, but the manners and postures that accompany their words and basic gestures.

Naturally, if authors of gesture inventories gave us at least many of those manners and postures subsumed under the label of "gestures," as they do in some cases, it would be only a problem of perception, method and labelling on their part, but we would still profit from their work. The trouble is that their kinesic inventories are, without exception, most unrealistic and, from a cultural and social point of view, quite superficial because of their serious limitations. Just for the sake of justifying these statements, I will quote Edward T. Hall (1955) as saying: "The subject of manners is complex; if it were not, there would not be so many injured feelings and so much misunderstanding in international circles everywhere. In any society the code of manners tends to sum up the culture--to be a frame for all behaviors"; and Albert Scheflen (1964) telling us that "to understand the meaning of gestures, postures, inflections and even affective expressions, it is necessary to look critically across cultures, across classes, across institutions," which suggests that, in order to understand and teach a culture's behavior, whether ours or not, one should look to the postural

repertoire that is more conspicuously characteristic of its members because just as English-speaking people move in English, in Scheflen's words, so Chinese move and sit in Chinese, and Italians move and sit in Italian.

On the other hand, as if it were not enough, books on gestures hardly ever refer to facial gestures in a systematic way. It is true that there are some patterns of facial muscular activity typical of specific affect states which are displayed by all humans in different societies and with identical semantic value, but many others are not universal and they can identify different cultures, subcultures, geographical varieties and even individual characteristics. To say, like some do when referring to kinesic constructs formed outside the face, that feelings "are shown on the face anyway," and that describing the other concomitant gestures is enough, could not be more inaccurate because identical gestures may be accompanied by different facial expressions in different cultures. Besides, according to the basic theoretical principles of kinesic analysis, those concomitant facial expressions are part of whole kinemorphemic compounds that cannot be broken up for meaning.

These warning comments on what the readers would not find in much of the work done in cultural kinesics mainly, carry in themselves, I hope, a few tips of what they should look for when conducting their own research, or simply when looking at people's body behavior with a serious eye.

However, there is much more to it than that, and the existing gesture inventories (at least the ones I am familiar with at this writing) are eloquent examples of the problems encountered but not solved, of how other equally obvious problems have not even been considered and of the methodological procedures that should have been followed in the field-work stages of the inventories and in their organization and presentation. Since the readers are likely to engage themselves in this type of work, at whatever level in

their experiences and field-work projects, I will glean some of the more important observations on this subject from a recent article (Poyatos, 1975a).

5.4. The preparation of a kinesic inventory and its field-work and methodological aspects

Those interested in carrying out a systematic study of the kinesic behavior of a given group, or certain aspects of a culture's kinesic repertoire--whether including gestures, manners and postures or just one of the three--, should go through two stages: (1) a field-work one, consisting of direct observation, illustration, and use of literary sources and/or informants; and (2) an at-home one of classification, distribution, labelling, description, and indication of the communicative contextual elements involved.

5.4.1. Direct observation (of classmates, colleagues, a church congregation, an office personnel, or one's relatives) is one of the more important parts in the preparation of a kinesic inventory, whether meant to be a piece of scholarly work or an unpretentious, but well done, class project. A very crucial aspect of it is the time spent within the observed group or culture in daily interaction with its members, and not merely as a total outsider in the more difficult cases. If doing a cross-cultural analysis (but even a native student of the English language in an English department would find a wealth of possibilities and fruitful conclusions) although it is true that he might be able to interpret correctly a number of national gestures, manners and postures recurring in given situations (anger, greetings, beckoning) without speaking the language, there is no doubt that a good, or decent, command of it, would enable him to appreciate, first of all, the linguistic context of the kinesic expressions he is trying to study, since many of them will repeat, emphasize, illustrate, or contradict the words spoken; and, considering the interrelatedness of the various nonverbal

systems (see 2.4), he should also try to have a command of the paralinguistic features of that language, or better yet, of that culture or subculture.

For those dealing with a culture, native or foreign, I would point out the convenience of differentiating, roughly, two groups of speaker-actors (better distinguishable in a Western culture): urban and rural, according to their two main physical and socioeconomic settings. In the case of the work being done on a whole culture, even if covering only kinesic behavior at informal gatherings, for instance, the field worker must try to act as one of them, which is not accomplished unless the gestures, manners, and postures are observed in contrast with those of urbanites, as separate culturemes (see 1.6). Unfortunately, the existing gesture inventories virtually ignore such an important differentiation.

In general, without trying to be over-rigorous, it seems to me that life direct observation should be a combination of the following corpus-collecting techniques:

A. A non-interactive approach to the subjects, for an unobtrusive view of their performances, which would comprise: (a) a far-phase visual-acoustic observation, when performers are seen and heard at a reasonable distance without the field worker taking part in their encounter (a party, a market, a public event), and (b) a close-phase visual-acoustic observation, but still non-interactive, perceiving better the linguistic-paralinguistic goings-on, and being subject, on our part, to an either selective or general observation.

B. An interactive approach, also general or selective in the material collected, but either non-eliciting on our part (and this is likely to be the one used during a purely observing stage), or eliciting, in which case the interlocutors, or co-actors, would be performing as informants.

5.4.2. Although, for illustration of a kinesic inventory, the ideal means is sound film or video-tape accompanying

the written material because it records quite well, if not to perfection, the basic triple structure language-paralanguage-kinesics (plus the proxemic and chronemic aspects of interaction), the truth is that very few people have such equipment made available to them. And next, of course, comes still photography, both collected by the investigator's own camera and gathered from newspapers and magazines. A good collection of newspaper and magazine snapshots can prove invaluable for observing, or guessing, people's situational behavior. Think of Time's pictorial psychological documents of Viet Nam harassed soldiers, of returning POW's, of President Nixon's Watergate ordeal. As its Picture Editor wrote once (Time, 1974): "Time's photographs are seeking in their subjects' glances and gestures--visual facts--that add information--not decoration--to the text." The investigator's own photographs can, at least, be accompanied by the linguistic context and by a paralinguistic notation, but the picture itself might be only part of a whole kinemorphemic construct, only a kineme. That is one of the reasons why those photographs need (as in Efrón, 1941) various lines indicating the range and direction of the movement.

On the whole, still photography can show: basic postures, mono-kinemorphemic movements, and non-elaborate, simple gestures; while sound film can show: language, paralinguistic qualities, direction of movement, formation of movement, multi-kinemorphemic movements, elaborate kinesic constructs, kinesic pausal features, and continuous eye movements.

As for sketches accompanying the description of gestures or other kinesic behaviors, it has been the prevailing means used by gesture inventories, except Barakat's (1973), who used photographs of himself, but the quality of the published sketches varies considerably, offers no indication of the actual formation, completion and termination of the gesture, and practically ignores the concomitant facial expression

that, I insist, is part of the kinesic construct. On the other hand, the artist should be familiar with the total behavior of the people being studied, a true co-field worker, not a home interpreter of the author's verbal or written descriptions.

5.4.3. As for literary sources, which can be combined with direct life observation, the more realistic type of prose is always an excellent one for the study of the kinesic repertoire of a culture or group. Authors like Dickens, Thomas Hardy, Aldous Huxley or Dos Passos and Steinbeck are clear examples of this argument. But the most important thing about quoting literary texts is to indicate with which word or words exactly a particular gesture is synchronized, for sometimes a two or three-sentence paragraph is given, but the reader cannot really know when exactly in that portion of speech the gesture in question actually takes place; which is precisely what happens to a foreign reader of a novel, where the gestures, if described at all, are explained usually after the characters have spoken.

5.4.4. The advantages of using informants are that (a) the kinesicist does not have to wait for further occurrences of something already observed, (b) he can make his informants read and perform the literary quotations he has used, and record the actual synchrony between linguistic and kinesic behaviors, (c) he can ask for comments regarding social status, situational context, etc., and (d) he can show them the sketches or still photographs and make sure that they identify the gesture in question and its possible situational contexts. Now, how to find a perceptive, sensitive and undeceiving informant who "informs" well, is not that easy.

5.4.5. Regarding the presentation of the material, whether in book form or simply as a classroom project, the success of the inventory depends on this second phase.

Leaving aside the non-interactional behaviors (shown in Chapter 2) as the concern more of the psychiatrist than of

the cultural, or linguistic-oriented, kinesicist, the chart below suggests a classification of the kinesic material observed and collected. Nothing in it is new, if the reader has gone through the previous chapters, except the functional distinction between behaviors that are ritualistic (in church, at games, etc.), conversational, floor-apportioning (related to the turn-taking rules), and receiver's feedback. Besides, such a classification depends, after all, upon the aims of the researcher.

functional	semiotic			gestures	manners	postures
ritualistic conversational	free	emblems illustrators affect-displays	visual-acoustic			
floor-apportioning receiver's feedback	bound	self-adaptors object-adaptors alter-adaptors	visual			
communicative context: language, paralanguage, kinesics, proxemics, etc.						
socioeconomic context						

5.4.6. By distribution and labelling I mean the way in which the collector should present the already classified material to the reader in inventory form for both study and reference. Some authors have distributed their items thematically, but with no logical order and they are difficult to locate, while, at the same time, some of the labels are quite useless (who would look up Green's 1968 "Divine wisdom and

testimony from above"?). Others, like Saitz and Cervenka (1972) have arranged their thematic distribution alphabetically, which is certainly more useful for quick reference, although they use noun labels that should be adjectival ("Crowded" and not "crowd") or gerundial ("Drinking" and not "drink"; "Hushing" and not "silence"), simply because each form has its own gestures (one thing is to refer to a quiet place with stretched hand and another to hush someone putting one forefinger to one's lips). Another common type of ambiguity is to list in a table of contents the word "Full" without saying of what, only to find that it is "full of food," which would belong with "Eating," for instance.

I would say that, instead of a totally arbitrary and incomplete listing of topics or settings, or an alphabetical arrangement in which affects, situations, settings, semantic groups and partial culturemes are mixed, the systematic arrangement resulting from the study of culturemes, as outlined in Chapter 1, would prove more logical and reliable from a methodological point of view. By culturemes here I mean secondary culturemes, concentrating on the various settings: home, school (high school, boarding school, college, etc.), office (bank, newspaper, finance company, etc.), church (Catholic, synagogue, Pentecostal, revival, urban, rural, etc.), or just on one of them, which, besides showing the different levels of usage, could be subject to a classification into: basic affects, basic physical and mental states, physical and moral qualities, and those movements which Efrón (1941) called "batons" (used to accent or emphasize verbal expression), "ideographs" (tracing the direction of thought), "spatial movement" (indicating a spatial relationship), "kinetographs" (depicting a bodily action), and "pictographs" (drawing a picture of their referent), plus the more typical object-adaptors, self-adaptors and alter-adaptors. This does not mean that we have to include each one of these categories when dealing with one given subject, but simply

that they should be checked out in order to collect the kinesic behaviors that actually make up the typical repertoire of the group and/or setting being studied.

5.4.7. When it comes to the analytical description of each gesture, manner, or posture, one has to consider that the inventory may contain (a) only native gestures (never "native" for a foreign reader!) and other kinesic behaviors perfectly recognizable by any member of that culture if they belong to the standard repertoire, (b) gestures of subcultural groups in different geographical areas, or occupational groups, or (c) gestures belonging to a foreign culture. Naturally, to be on the safe side, the collector should never take for granted that the potential reader, no matter his background, will have no trouble following his verbal description (even accompanied by the correspondent illustration), because that is the main problem with kinesic inventories and the effort should be made to secure an imitation on the part of the reader as close as possible to reality.

The linguistic-kinesic analogy must be kept in mind in this respect. A foreign language, or a regional variety of the native one, can be spoken fluently but usually with a certain accent, which, under analysis, consists of inexact placement of stresses, pitches and junctures, and incorrect articulation of some vocalic and consonantal sounds (that is, inaccurate internal "movements"). In a similar manner, a foreign kinesic (or body "language") repertoire, or a regional variety, can be imitated, learned and performed with more or less fluency, but perhaps with an alien "accent" in many instances, consisting of inexact placement of kinesic stress and junctures (these to be more deeply investigated) and, above all, or more noticeably, of the incorrect use of the parakinesic qualities (intensity, range and velocity) as well as the misplacement of certain kinemes within kinemorphemic constructs.

By the above brief comments, which deserve much serious elaboration, I meant to emphasize that the written description of a gesture, manner or posture should specify as many of those features as possible.

From the semantic point of view, the collector of a foreign repertoire will find: identical or similar gestures with the same or similar meaning in both cultures (which could be termed synonyms-homomorphs), different gestures with the same meaning (that is, synonyms-antomorphs), similar or identical gestures with different meanings (antonyms-homomorphs), and culture-specific gestures in both form and meaning (antonyms-antomorphs).

5.4.8. After offering his readers a clear, unambiguous description (and ambiguity appears in published inventories in different ways) of a given kinesic behavior, the author of a collection (whether based on the observed behavior of relatives, friends, teachers, colleagues, or spectators at a game) must indicate some, or all, of the five communicative contexts in which that behavior can occur: linguistic, paralinguistic, kinesic, proxemic, and chronemic.

5.4.8.1. The need for the linguistic context is obvious when it is present either preceding or following the kinesic act, or simultaneously with it, and because sometimes different verbal contexts give the same kinesic behavior different meanings. On the other hand, whether it is a context supplied by the collector himself or from a literary source, one should clearly indicate with which word or words is the movement synchronized. Often a two or three-sentence paragraph is given, but the reader cannot know when in that portion of speech the gesture really takes place.

5.4.8.2. A gesture may condition the paralinguistic features of the verbal context just mentioned. In fact, paralinguistic and parakinesic features condition each other. There are, specially, a number of isolated paralinguistic alternants that may typically occur preceding, following, or

simultaneously with the kinesic expression: sighs, coughs, and throat-clearings; numerous clicks; hesitation vowels, clicks ingressions and egressions; and more specifically, for instance, a strong nareal ingression while stamping a foot in rage or impatience.

5.4.8.3. There is a kinesic context to a kinesic act performed with a different part of the body, even with different parts of the face. This will sound like a contradiction, since we can argue that such a concomitant act is actually part of the whole kinemorphemic or kinesintactic (or, at any rate, semantic) construct; but, from the point of view of a kinesic inventory directed to its readers, it can be thought of as a context independent from the basic gesture since we can speak of that gesture without referring to the rest of the kinesic behavior.

5.4.8.4. The proxemic behavior displayed with specific body movements and positions is sufficiently meaningful to be recorded as an important contextual factor. Gestures of beckoning, for instance, vary with the distance kept from, say, a waiter. As part of proxemics, body orientation also changes in relation to our interlocutor according to different gestures. While some gestures can be performed with our bodies at a right angle, others require a vis-á-vis position.

5.4.8.5. Finally, by contextual chronemic behavior, I am referring not only to the modification of the kinesic repertoire as time goes by (at a party, conditioned also by variables such as alcohol, as I indicated previously) but, for instance, to the time passed between the initiation of a gesture and its actual execution, as in the case of the Latin embrace among men (only occasional in America, mostly taboo) on special occasions, which is initiated or anticipated while still at a distance.

More details about a critical presentation of a kinesic inventory can, of course, be found in my Semiotica

article (Poyatos, 1975a).

I hope, however, that what I included in this chapter about the science of kinesics, plus my own contribution to the methodology of kinesic inventories, will have given the readers a basic preparation for a more scientific observation of kinesic behavior in everyday situations and for writing their own field-work material or classroom projects.

CHAPTER 6

PROXEMICS AND CHRONEMICS: SPACE AND TIME AS COMMUNICATION

Having shown the intimate interrelationships among language, paralanguage, kinesics and other visual, olfactory and tactile means of emitting and receiving messages, often suggesting their relation to space and time as ever-present elements, I will dedicate this chapter to briefly introducing the readers to the fields of proxemics and chronemics. Spatial behavior, both self-regulatory and interactive in nature, is viewed here mostly as a system within total body communication, and the four basic distances differentiated by Hall, plus a fifth one, are sufficiently commented upon to stimulate direct observation and research, relating the handling of space to the other communicative modalities. Finally, what I have already proposed as "chronemics" is explained as a promising new area in which chronemic behavior is suggested for analysis as depending upon "conceptual time," "social time" and "interactive time."

6.1. Proxemics as a system within Total Body Communication

6.1.1. Along with the development of research fields for studying the structuring and meaning of body motion and positions (kinesics, since the early 50's), and of the vocalizations and traditionally considered marginal and non-speech sounds closely associated with verbal expression (paralinguistics, since the mid-50's), another multidisciplinary area of concern for those seeking a deeper understanding of man's behavior and some of his environmental problems in today's world was born in the late 50's as proxemics.

The new science, developed by the anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1959, but above all 1966) with great insight, will

be defined here as: man's conception, use and structuration of space, from his built or natural surrounding to the distances consciously or unconsciously maintained in personal interaction; a definition that, wanting to deal exhaustively with spatial behavior, should include many other animal species, which throws much light upon man's own behavior.

Proxemic behavior covers a very wide range of manifestations, both culture-specific and universal but, first of all, biological, that is, shown by human beings as living organisms claiming, delimiting and maintaining their own territory or occupying someone else's, as practiced in personal interaction, in the layout of their towns and buildings, in the arrangement and spacing of their furniture and in the distances kept from the inanimate environment and its objects as well as from their fellow men.

Here, however, neither our objectual proxemic behavior nor our similarities with other species in the handling of time are the specific concern of the readers. Instead, I will concentrate on how we use space as a system within total body communication closely associated with the rest of the verbal and nonverbal activities. We must regard this kind of behavior as an important communicative and interaction-regulatory element. But those who may want to discover the fascinating similarities between themselves, human beings, and other species in the handling of "personal distance" according to dominance and status (Hediger, 1961), or in the "social distance" attitudes subject to circumstances, in addition to the psychological and ecological implications of architectural design and spatial factors of cities and buildings, should resort to a growing literature on the subject.

6.1.2. As a body-originated system of communication in personal interaction, proxemic behavior seems to be patterned along with other message-conveying activities, whether consciously or unconsciously displayed, as a motor-based

modality (not necessarily moving, but resulting from movement shifts), visually, olfactorily and kinesthetically perceived, and displayed through kinesic activity as interactants space themselves during a conversation, walking down the street, watching a game, or at the beach. In whatever situation, the basic stage of each proxemic distance is, from a strict point of view, a static one, until a new spacing behavior (e.g., in the back-and-forth stepping of two standing interlocutors) takes place. Therefore, it is interesting to consider those inter-system relationships (some of which have already been mentioned in 2.4) and observe how language and other vocal and nonvocal systems are modified by proxemic behavior, and vice versa.

6.2. The classification of interpersonal distances in interaction

I would like to suggest to the readers, referring them once more to the chart "Total Body Communication" (Fig. 3), the more typical relationships of the various communicative systems with each of the four basic distances differentiated by Hall (1966): public (far phase, 25 feet or more; close phase, 12 to 25), social (far phase, 7 to 12; close phase, 4 to 7), personal (far phase, 2.5 to 4; close phase, 1.5 to 2.5), and intimate (far phase, 6 to 18 inches; close phase, total contact between bodies). To these four I am adding a fifth one I call faraway distance.

6.2.1. At public distance the visually and acoustically perceived ways of communicating become the only means of establishing contact, but they are heavily modified in comparison with the more common situations, those occurring at social and personal distances. An orator, although boosted by what Hall has called "extensions of our organism," such as loudspeakers, uses his full voice volume and clear and tense articulation, while occasionally banging his lectern (object-adaptor) and using various self-adaptor gestures and self-

adaptor manners, like clapping hands or hitting the palm with the fist of the other hand. I must point out that the greater the distance between a speaker and his audience, the more obvious the kinesic and paralinguistic repertoires should be, since, as we all have experienced at one time or another, an otherwise good text can be a flop if delivered by a poor graduation speaker who hardly moves and hardly changes his tone of voice and the rhythm of his deliverance, although we may have enjoyed him earlier at close range distance in a classroom. Actors are, of course, trained in linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic devices aimed at reaching the balcony from where the audience needs their nonverbal conveyance of situations and affects more than from a first row; while a movie actor or actress is considered "theatrical" if he or she cannot display the paralinguistic and kinesic subtleties of personal and intimate distances, made possible by the movie camera. In any proxemic situation the speakers need to keep the proper equilibrium among the vocal, proxemic and kinesic systems, but mainly between the first two, as reflected in the "Louder!" heard at the back of an audience when that equilibrium is missing, just as someone may tell us, "You don't have to shout, I'm right here," and, most typically, in the inevitable, almost unconscious full-volume voice during a long-distance call, specially when carried out by rural people.

6.2.2. Hall has not, to my knowledge, distinguished an extreme but typical distance of actual interaction. This is the one I have called <u>faraway distance</u>. Light and smoke signals are common at such a distance, and two people trying to communicate between two hills, from the street to a tenth floor, etc., must increase enormously the range of their emblematic (message-conveying) gestures. If hearing is not impossible, they will use their hands as a megaphone and shout, but if it is, as when someone is waving at a rescue helicopter, one tends to actually speak at normal volume while violently moving.

I will suggest, as a rule governing communicative behavior, that as distance between interactants shortens (from an air pilot waving at his girl friend on the ground to the two of them cuddled on a couch), the richer their nonverbal repertoires become, while verbal expression diminishes.

6.2.3. At social distance, the distance normally kept among people during a formal introduction (first they approach each other to shake hands, then retreat to their former locations), in a waiting room (if lack of sitting space does not make it personal), or even while walking around in a department store. It is obvious, and it should be pointed out now, that social, personal and intimate distances cannot always be defined in terms of specific situations. There are too many variables to be considered. While walking around in a department store, or moving inside a bus depot, or at a cocktail party, interpersonal spaces shrink and stretch quite frequently, and the same people who are keeping a close-phase social distance one minute find themselves three or four feet from others the next. One could elaborate a great deal on the widening and narrowing of interpersonal distances and, above all, on the very different implications found in specific distances according to the different situational contexts in which they may occur. For example, waiting in a box office line two strangers are one or two feet apart probably, which, according to Hall's classification, corresponds to personal, even intimate, distance although we know very well that those two people may not even look at each other and that the situation is entirely "social," that is, representing a social context. The same thing happens aboard a crowded subway car. In all those forced, falsely personal-intimate situations the protagonists try to avoid eye contact as much as possible, and occasional smiles or movements tell each other that they would not be that close if they could avoid it.

Going back to the emission and perception of communicative signals through the various bodily channels, it is interesting to note that at both phases of the so-called social distance (from 4 to 7 feet, and from 7 to 12), the volume of the voice, for instance, requires a culturally dictated control. Regardless of the topic being discussed, people try to keep their voices down when surrounded at social distance by people they are not directly interacting with (indirectly, they do condition each other's volume control, to begin with), although we find exceptions everywhere in North America. Voice volume at social distance distinguishes several cultures. Spanish, Italians and Arabs, for instance, talk loudly in public places like ordinary restaurants and sidewalk cafes, as well as at social and family gatherings. At social distance, the kinesic repertoire can be more subtle and expressive. Some hand gestures usually performed about one foot from the body would be acted closer to it when interacting at personal distance; that is, the range is shortened, just as voice volume can be lowered. Visual contact becomes very important since movements of the eyes can be perfectly seen and decoded. Postural shifts and object-adaptor manners (tapping the desk, fidgeting with a pen) can be detected as feedback better than at public distance (at which they may pass unnoticed by an actor or a lecturer in a large room). Also, it is at social far-phase distance that body-adaptors (wigs, jewelry, clothes), grooming signs, dermal changes (blushing, goose flesh) and secretions (tears, heavy perspiration) become perceptible and meaningful; while at its close phase, as when sharing a couch with someone, joining a group at a party or occupying a vehicle with someone else, olfactory communication begins to work, increased by rising temperature (since a shaving lotion, feminine cosmetics, or perspiration are more noticeable at high skin temperature). Even bad breath and body odor can be detected

at this distance, being more so at the next proxemic stage, far-phase personal distance.

6.2.4. Before proceeding to discuss the rest of the spatial relationships, it is necessary to acknowledge orientation as a very important element in interaction, depending actually both on proxemic attitudes and on kinesic activity for changing the position in relation to other people (side-by-side, face-to-face, right angle orientation, etc.). Orientation, language, and paralanguage condition each other (what earlier, 2.6.1., I referred to as self-regulatory function within one's own repertoire) in a way that readers doing field-work projects can easily verify. Take, for instance, courtship, not necessarily your own (which can be unconscious many times!), but the one displayed by fellow students or colleagues while talking over a cup of coffee, much more so at a party with a drink in their hands. There are moments at which new orientation positions are taken, postures shifted (the girl will perhaps brush her hair aside with great delicacy, the man will lean forward towards her), and tone of voice changed to a more intimate one.

6.2.5. At personal distance, not only olfactory perception is increased but complexion, hidden marks of aging, and the true quality of body-adaptors can be valued as indices to physiological and socioeconomic states, which in many instances can be corroborated by paralinguistic features (as with the socially inferior person trying to talk "natural" with upper-class interlocutors), and by kinesic behavior (gestures, manners and postures). But, most important, even at the far phase of 2.5 to 4 feet, interactants are within physical reach of each other. Arabs and Latins jump easily from social to personal distance. I can remember the expression on the face of an Anglo-Saxon tourist walking through a Marrakesh market when being grabbed by a persuasive merchant and pulled into the shop. It is a highly cultural characteristic that Spanish men, for instance, touch each other a lot

from the waist up when engaged in friendly conversation. So, being a native of Spain myself, while I unconsciously keep my tactual repertoire under control among Anglo-Saxons, I can get along beautifully with Arab merchants and farmers because I grab them by the neck and by the arm and pat them while conversing with them. Although I would not hold hands with another man, as many of them do going down the street or standing by a door, because it is a taboo in my own culture to which I have been conditioned. However, at personal distance, paralanguage and contact kinesics are intimately related in my native culture and in other western cultures. When two good friends motion towards each other anticipating a firm handshake with a broad smile (or a stern countenance if expressing condolence) at personal distance, the loud, high-pitched and drawled "Well!" gives way to a lower-pitched "How are you?" at close personal distance, and the "tone of voice" will correspond to their tactual involvement, the kinesic stress of each handshake and that of each syllable regulating each other. A cold person is thought cold when, in spite of a close personal distance, he keeps his paralanguage inadequately adjusted to the situation.

Through tactile perception, available at personal distance, one can learn about a person from a loose handshake, a callous hand, a kinesthetic appreciation of physical strength or weakness, and various emotional states are revealed by language and paralanguage, by kinesic behavior, by trembling and perspiration, by heat and by cold. A look at the elements constituting the biophysicopsychological and socioeconomic-geographical background will reveal to the readers the countless research possibilities regarding the interrelationships of the different body communicative activities, including the basic triple structure, language-paralanguage-kinesics, at the various distances being discussed.

6.2.6. Finally, intimate distance provides also a wealth of possibilities for study, which even those interested only in linguistic and paralinguistic communication should not overlook. At intimate distance ocular communication is not so important any more, except for long deep glances carrying basic emotional states (love, anger, sexual arousal), in which different allokines of an eyelid closure, for instance (see 5.2), and pupil size are far more eloquent and subtle than conventional verbal constructs in a given language can ever be.

But it is, above all, kinesthetic, tactile and olfactory inputs and outputs that are incredibly stepped-up when intimate distance between two persons is reached. And two things may happen:

(a) that such a proxemic situation is not at all sought by participants, not even direct interaction, as is the case in a crowded elevator. One stands still, hands kept alongside the body or against the chest if really crowded by others (lest one's position should be misinterpreted); the longer the trip, the more tension builds up, even if unconsciously. Eye-contact is avoided beyond an initial glance when stepping in, receiving another passenger or asking to be let out. Many look insistently, but quite unnecessarily most of the time, at the jumping floor numbers above the door, look down or whisper-whistle. The company of a friend passenger is appreciated, while the others go through their own "ordeals," and a funny remark from a good-humored elevator attendant is always welcome and elaborated on;

(b) that proxemic behavior gradually progresses from the far and close stages of personal range to the intimate one, as in wrestling, rescuing, helping someone in moments of moral and physical stress, at which language is kept to a minimum while bodies communicate kinesthetically mostly and through paralinguistic features such as coarse voice, heavy respiration, etc. Love-making and sexual involvement,

as two independent and/or successive situations, are the best examples of intimate proxemic behavior. Intimate distance, at which hands, faces, lips, legs and abdominal areas (usually in this order) come into contact, develops an intense, ever-mounting multisensory involvement unparalleled in any other animal species, since the intellect plays an important role in valuing shape, texture, color, density, temperature, eye-contact and tone of voice. Effective vision is impeded and verbal messages (conveyed only by hoarse, breathy, arrhythmic voice, heavily dependent on paralinguistic alternants) may even be lacking, as other channels carry out a continuous display of sensorial communication. Since proxemic and kinesic behavior are kept at very close range, kinesthetic perception plays the most important role of all, as the whole body of the other person is perceived through muscles, tendons and dermic contact through the skin's temperature and pressure receptors. In this type of involvement, the most intense one in personal interaction, not only body-adaptors like lotions and cosmetics but the bodies themselves communicate their specific odorous molecules to the olfactory epithelium inside the nasal passage, and odors of which more molecules would be necessary at greater distances are transmitted at two or three inches by the olfactory nerve to the olfactory bulb of the brain, where smell is "thought of," just as other sensorially perceived body features are conceptualized in different degrees and according to different types of sensitiveness.

6.2.7. I hope that the interplay of proxemics and other communicative systems developed by man has been demonstrated clearly enough to incite the reader's curiosity about the fascinating applications of this science to other fields, such as architecture and design and their effects upon attitudes and behavior (both excellently studied by

Sommer (1969), or to cross-cultural research on proxemic behavior (Watson, 1970).

For proxemic field work and analysis, Hall (1963) developed a notation system, just as Birdwhistell did for kinesics. The readers are referred to a concise presentation of this system found in the already recommended textbook by Knapp (1972).

6.3. Chronemics: a preliminary presentation of a proposed research area

6.3.1. After outlining the interactive aspects of proxemic behavior, I feel I should close this monograph with some preliminary comments on another area of research which I have suggested on several occasions as an indispensable tool for the scientific analysis of human behavior. The proposed term for it is, as I wrote earlier, chronemics, and its subject-matter: our conceptualization and handling of time as a biopsychological and cultural element lending specific characteristics to social relationships and to the many events linked within the communicative continuum, from linguistic syllables and flitting gestures to meaningful glances and silences.

Edward T. Hall (1959, 1966) has expressed deep concern for the cultural miscommunication resulting from the different ways of understanding time and has written some very interesting pages on the American structuration and conceptualization of time, which the readers ought to be acquainted with in order to comprehend better the cultural background of what here I refer to as interactive chronemics. Hall's observations deal mostly with the characteristics of what he calls informal time, that is, the conceptualization of culturally-based and flexible units like "a while," and the idea about punctuality and promptness, the "apology period" and the "insult period" when waiting and making others wait (much shorter and harder to understand by American standards),

the American "monochronism" (doing one thing at a time) as clashing with Latin or Arab polychronism (performing several small tasks at the same time) and, in general, the "feeling" of time in different cultures. Just by mentioning some of Hall's topics concerning time one would amply justify the necessity to develop a theoretical and methodological scheme for chronemics, more or less as it has been developed for proxemics.

At this writing, however, my own ideas about chronemic analysis, clear as they may be at times, have not as yet crystallized in a workable and systematic presentation that I could trustfully launch as a solid system. The preparation of such a system will be based, of course, on the principle that time communicates. Whether passively engraved in a recent footprint or a crumbling medieval wall, or actively expressing something in a pause between verbal sentences and kinesic constructs, in the duration of a wink or in the lingering of a handshake, time, that is, temporal length of activities and the gaps between them, must be acknowledged as a measurable constituent of behavior, and the result of behavior, and as a communicative system in itself.

Chronemic behavior, then, must be analyzed as a structured "supra-activity" continuum that can be coded in universal as well as in culture-specific ways, and whose meaning serves to differentiate situational contexts, cultural backgrounds and personality, and biological configurations.

As a very preliminary framework, but recommendable for possible work dealing with chronemics, I will differentiate three types of time equally valid in any culture: conceptual time, social time, and interactive time.

6.3.2. Conceptual time as a research subarea is a prerequisite for the study of the social and interactive categories. Acknowledging the cultural background as in any

other study of communication, it must define the conceptualization of time, not only of what Hall calls formal time (the year, the month, the fortnight, etc.), and how far into the future life is planned, or how far back into the past one's behavior is still "operative," but as regards basic concepts like promptness--tardiness, punctuality--unpunctuality, on which I must not try to elaborate here.

Social time, directly depending on conceptualized time, is time as handled in social relations at all levels within a culture as well as interculturally (that is, by people from different cultural backgrounds coming into contact on one setting or another).

If, as a field-work project, we had to study social time among, say, Arabs, or Japanese, or Spaniards, it would obviously constitute a cultureme, and this cultureme could be broken down into other culturemes according to the system proposed for the analysis of a given culture (1.5). As it depends much upon the many variables making up the conditioning background, the student of chronemics can carry out as fine an analysis as he wishes, e.g.: "Duration of informal gatherings among middle-class Americans according to situational factors"; "Chronemics of employer-employee relationship"; "Time handling among academics"; "Chronemic relations between doctors and patients"; "Time in the student cafeteria." One must not forget that each of these culturemes includes what later I define as interactive time and that, again, chronemic behavior in each case varies from the urban center, where time pressure reaches the point of what Hall refers to as "the obsessional handling of time in the U.S." to the small-town, country-style setting.

It is in interactive time where we find the interrelationship among the various communicative modalities as discussed in 2.4, that is, paralanguage to chronemics, kinesics to chronemics, proxemics to chronemics, etc. Below this level

is the duration of each individual meaningful activity, and that is the basic level in the handling of time upon which all communicational behaviors are built. Besides speech tempo, syllabic duration, paralinguistic duration, I would call the first level inter-system timing (or chronemics), and the second level primary timing (or chronemics).

I feel that, in spite of their preliminary character, the few ideas on chronemics I have advanced may be useful to students of nonverbal communication, and I hope that they will try to elaborate on those notions seeking the appropriate refinements. After discussing proxemics, that is, the spatial dimension of communication, we must realize that in order to analyze human behavior--or animal behavior, for that matter--we must acknowledge the fact that any activity developed by us as living organisms occurs both in space and in time, and that the two of them are structured by each individual in different ways. We must understand too that each proxemic or chronemic occurrence, like any other bit of behavior, is fundamentally shaped by the biophysicopsychogical and socioeconomic-geographical conditioning background.

CHAPTER 7

NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION IN NARRATIVE LITERATURE

After outlining the basic aspects of nonverbal communication within the humanities as well as within the social sciences--by way of presenting mostly the theoretical and methodological ideas I feel I can contribute--, I would like to close this monograph with some comments that might be of special interest for part of its readers, as it deals with literature. Although it can be applied to the theater (both in its "read" and its "staged" forms), my main interest at present (Poyatos 1972b, 1976a, 1976b) lies in narrative literature, mainly the novel and the ancient epics, as there is a fascinating perspective based on the analysis of the communicative process between writer and reader through the characters, the nonverbal repertoires of the latter, and the functions these repertoires play in the literary work.

7.1. The nonverbal repertoires of the character in the printed narrative text

A cursory reading of a page in a novel where both the writer and his characters speak (they in a dialog, he to us), that is, where an interactive conversational encounter takes place alternating with the author's own observations about it, shows that if we were to rely exclusively on what those characters say--depicted on paper as printed lexemes--and on a few punctuation marks, plus some instances of extralinguistic communicative features, a good part of the total message would be simply lost, even though not so in the mind of the novelist.

We would find in that page: that a substantial part of the printed text is aimed at describing nonverbal activities which are produced either simultaneously with words or alternating with them; that the author, by so doing, openly

acknowledges the limitations of his written-typographical presentation of verbal behavior to portray vividly the physical and psychological configurations of his characters; that the ration between verbal and nonverbal activities must be an indication of certain stylistic characteristics more accentuated in some novelists than in others, and therefore an important touchstone for the analysis of the novel; and that, as I will specify later, the direct repertoire of nonverbal communication symbols is extremely limited in comparison with the one symbolizing verbal language.

The human nonverbal communicative activities are acknowledged by novelists in general as elements complementary to their characters' verbal ones. They are those produced by the human body as a socializing organism, and although psychomuscularly originated, can be contrasted against the intellectual ones and subsumed under what in Chapter 2 I have called Total Body Communication, which includes four basic categories: acoustic (verbal language, paralanguage, and audible gestures, mainly), visual (gestures and postures, use of space, body appearance, dermal changes and secretions), olfactory (body odors and perfumes), and tactile (contact movements and kinesthetic perception of others); distributed among Vocal-Verbal, Vocal-Nonverbal and Nonvocal-Nonverbal forms of communication. Writers, in greater or lesser degree, try to convey to their readers the perception of blushing and goose flesh, of perspiration and tears, of soft skin and body scents, etc.

It is language-paralanguage-kinesics (the Basic Triple Structure), jointly or independently, that the reader appreciates above all other elements, in the fictional characters; and that is why I have so far excluded even proxemic behavior when analyzing nonverbal communication in the narrative text, as well as chronemic behavior--although time plays an important structural function in the interactive encounter depicted in the text--as neither of them is an essential element

by which to judge the stylistic and technical qualities of a narrator.

As for the printed representation of nonverbal communication, I will just mention in passing the relatively simple and most arbitrary development of punctuation marks, originated in the Greek and Roman rethorical signs devised for the reading aloud of texts, in medieval biblical and liturgical manuscripts read in churches and refectories, in the French and Italian printing shops of the Renaissance, and in 17th century additions like exclamation and quotation marks. Little or no attempt, however, seems to have been made on the part of the writers themselves to enrich the very poor repertoire at their disposal, although a reasonable number of additional symbols for representing certain features of human interactive behavior would be perfectly feasible. If we think, for instance, of Aldous Huxley's almost clinical descriptions of paralinguistic features, we realize that he is so conscious of their semantic and lexical properties that he makes a point of exercising his linguistic-stylistic ability, coupled to his acute perception of others, to describe how a person speaks and the "non-words" that person utters. One cannot help wondering how his style would have been affected had he been able to resort to established written forms of such message-conveying sounds as "a brief and snorting laugh," or a "rueful little laugh." But most of our paralinguistic utterances having no written form, nor a label (a verb and a noun) to refer to them in a standard way, Huxley appears as extremely conscious of the role played by them in personal interaction.

Extensive research could be done about paralanguage in narrative literature: the voice qualities that seem to appear more often, those associated with specific cultures or specific socioeconomic strata, how far novelists can go in the realistic portrayal of the people they create, and

which literary tendencies are apt to give more weight to non-verbal communication. From a semantic point of view, we find, for instance, how the same paralinguistic alternants (e.g. Ugh!), identically transcribed, reflect the variety of meanings and contextual situations found in real life.

Along with language (words and prosodic features) and paralanguage (voice modifications and non-lexical vocal sounds) is kinesics (gestures, manners and postures). The possible written representation of kinesic phenomena would certainly be a controversial subject, and it seems incredible that attempts to transcribe movements in a literary text should be totally lacking among those interested in written communication and its historical development. It is true that a written sign symbolizing "standing," or "sitting," or "raised eyebrows," would still need a complementary verbal specification, unless a very refined transcription of kinesic activity were devised. The mere thought of it, however, seems to destroy the concept of literary style as conceived today, by means of which a gesture can be described in many ways by speaking about it, and not writing it.

The fact is that no kinegraphic symbols were devised after alphabets were used, not even--as one might desire at times--to indicate a basic overriding posture or a facial affect display that may accompany a stretch of speech. The advantage of using a few kinegraphic markers is that the reader would be able to perceive the kinesic behavior of the characters, not before or after their linguistic one, as it happens with the author's descriptions, but actually synchronized with it.

7.2. The communication process between author and reader: transmission of the character in narrative literature

In written literature, spoken language (or vocal-auditory signs in general) and movements are evoked by means of written signs we call words and punctuation marks. In fact, the

whole sensorial world which surrounds us in real life is transmitted to us through writing and printing, which in turn will elicit images of it in our intellect, according to the writer's skill. From a semiotic point of view--not perhaps a literary one, unless the very concept "literary" is revised--any novel, even a poorly written one, appears as a fascinating display of communicative power and of transmitting devices. Even if we concentrate only on how nonverbal communication is conveyed and perceived in the novel, we must first delineate the process by which the character (along with his contextual elements) is transmitted to and perceived by the reader (also subject to his own circumstances). I would like to differentiate three main stages:

Stage 1. The process is initiated when the writer, drawing from his world of physical and intellectual experiences, perceives and decodes the signs that will contribute to the formation of his characters, either directly--being processed immediately afterward--, that is, in a physical way, or in a delayed way, that is, intellectually. The author, therefore, has made a selection of linguistic, paralinguistic, kinesic, proxemic and other nonverbal behaviors.

Stage 2. It consists of a channel reduction, made possible only by words, in which a translation of the coding process takes place, since the whole multisensory world is changed into only a visual one: the printed text. It is a sort of sign metamorphosis which the reader will later trigger again so that the inverse may take place. In this stage we are offered nonverbal communication in two forms:

(a) explicit, that is, the visual printed signs (morphologically and syntactically modified words, verbal descriptions of nonverbal activities, and punctuation marks); and

(b) implicit, not visually present in the written or printed text, but latent "between lines" and intellectually

perceived, this stage and the first one actually overlapping at the point in which the writer's real world is changing into his created, transformed or imagined one through the necessary channel reduction.

Stage 3. A reverse sign metamorphosis takes place when the reader begins to act as such by amplifying the visual signs into their original sources, that is, by mentally bringing them back to life and turning the written words into intimate imagined sensations of optical, auditive, tactile, olfactory, kinesthetic, and dermal experiences. The reader, in sum, recreates the author's flesh-and-bone character into his own flesh-and-bone character, thus completing the intended cycle or, rather, the literary recycling of signs. This duality, the author's character and the reader's character, spans between the two end points, output and input, of the coding process, at both of which the individual's own personal and cultural conditioning background affects the entire process.

One can conclude that the creation, transmission, and perception of the people in the fictional world of the novel is a process based on the author's own exclusive circumstance in the real world at one end, and the individual reader's own exclusive circumstance, also in the real world, at the other; each of them occurring in a specific spatial and temporal situation.

From the literary as well as from the psychological point of view, this would deserve much elaboration if we were to probe as deep as possible into the most hidden layers of the creative process on the one hand, and in the re-creative process on the other; that is, if we were to analyze the motivations, sensitiveness and general contextual circumstances of both writer and reader. The exclusiveness that defines each of them as individual human beings is, I believe, an unfathomable abyss in which the relationship Author (real

world)-Character (fictional world)-Reader (real world) lies partly hidden, and the basis for the three premises that constitute the backbone of the analysis of nonverbal communication as a new perspective of narrative technique, namely: the vitality of both writer and reader, and the in-between position of the character whose own vitality, confirmed by each reading, confirms in turn his inherent plurality.

A character may have been given life mainly as a highly intellectual vehicle for the conveyance of the writer's philosophy (Sartre's Roquentin, Unamuno's Augusto Pérez), as the tool for a satire (Swift's Gulliver), as a sort of intermittent lecturer for encyclopedic novels like Huxley's Point Counterpoint, or as a fictional individual from the author's daily environment (Dostoevsky's Raskolnikov, Zola's Burgeois, Dreiser's city dwellers); but, no matter how intellectualized he is, a character is, or has been, a flesh-and-bone individual in his author's mind and his vitality is always confirmed. Therefore, the reader, conditioned by a new circumstance in a new time in his culture, will not reconstruct Cervantes' Don Quixote, Dickens' Pickwick, or Malamud's Yakob Bok exactly as their authors lived them during the creative process, not even as they lived them in the subsequent readings of their own work, for those readings would take place at an already different time, conditioned by a new set of circumstances.

We can speak, therefore, of the author's character and the reader's character, a duality that suggests the need to consider what are actually the two basic dimensions of any human activity: space and time. There is a cultural setting for a fictional character, whether his creator wants it or not, that emerges somewhere in the novel; and there is also a temporal setting from which the novelist draws during his creative process, as he can project us into the future (as in Utopian and science-fiction works), or try to bring the past back to life (as in the historical novel), but still

drawing inevitably from his own time locus. The problem of re-creation, therefore, and the probability of minimizing the plurality of the character will depend much on those two dimensions, time and space, as much as the creative process does.

7.3. Realistic functions of the nonverbal repertoires

7.3.1. From the brief discussion of how nonverbal communication in narrative literature reveals the semiotic (or communicative) process which in turn shows the author-character-reader relationship, and of how the character's repertoires affect the literary text itself, we could conclude that the use of those repertoires is a necessity inherent to the author.

Realism, in different degrees, is a mimetic goal which, disguised in ephemeral artistic currents at times, always pervaded the fictional narration. To decide, however, why some "realists" give so much weight to the nonverbal behavior of their characters while others do not, would not be simply an easy cataloguing task. We can associate the specification of paralinguistic and kinesic repertoires with the great figures of 19th century realism, for instance, but it would take a very deep analysis to attempt anything like a taxonomy of narrative literature based on the use of the representation and description of nonverbal communication. In connection with the kind of language used for this purpose, however, I would like to differentiate between poetic language (deliberately esthetic, sometimes evoking more than saying) and functional language (as a significant stripped of any artistic intentions, expressing the physical behaviors of the characters with the most indispensable elements). And yet, because of the writer's basic poetic vein, we may find both forms side by side.

In the final analysis, a look at what the narrator achieves through the use of verbal and nonverbal personal

repertoires, reveals not only six important types of realism but the three classes of functions that the verbal-nonverbal compound (that is, the basic triple structure) can play in narrative literature: realistic, communicative, and technical.

7.3.2. In all periods of narrative literature, from the national epics on, the depiction of the linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic structure of the people involved in the story has conveyed a feeling of authenticity we could call human realism, which is usually, but not always, complemented by the objectual or environmental kind of realism. A close analysis of what the authors achieve by letting us know what their characters say, and how they say it, and how they move their bodies as they say it, or in their silences, reveals an interesting perspective, since we can differentiate six types of realism, that is, six realistic functions of nonverbal communication.

(a) physical realism, which conveys the sensorial perception of people's behavior and, therefore, their intended authenticity:

> Spandrell uttered a brief and snorting laugh, and letting his chair fall back on its four legs, leaned forward across the table. Pushing aside his coffee-cup and his half-emptied liqueur glass, he planted his elbows on the table and his chin in his hands. (Huxley, Point Counterpoint, VIII)

(b) distorting realism, that is, the literary, or artistic, expressionist rendering of physicophychological reality, meant to ridicule, to offer a caricature of reality, to gratuitously exaggerate it, or truly to show what the eyes cannot see.

> When Sancho saw that he could not find the book, his face turned deadly pale; and feeling all over his body in great haste, he once more realized he could not find it, and suddenly he threw his fists to his beard and tore off half of it, and, hastily and without stopping, he gave himself half a dozen blows on the face and on the nose, until it was all drenched in blood. (Cervantes, Don Quixote, I, xxvi, translation mine)

(c) individualizing realism, which shows a conscious effort to differentiate the characters, as to their physical and psychological characteristics, by means of their verbal repertoires and, in the best cases, by their nonverbal ones as well:

> But Jude's mind seemed to grow confused soon, and could not get on [declaiming the Nicene creed]. He put his hand to his forehead, and his face assumed an expression of pain. (Hardy, Jude the Obscure, II, vii) He [Jude] was leaning with his elbows on the table and his chin on his hands, looking into a futurity which seemed to be sketched out on the table cloth. (Ibid., III, vii) "It is horrible how we are circumstanced, Sue--horrible" he [Jude] said abruptly, with his eyes bent to the floor. (Ibid., IV, ii) He [Jude] shook his head hopelessly, his eyes wet. (Ibid., VI, iv)

(d) psychological realism, the conscious and ultimate aim of individualizing realism, includes also the sensorial world, as the perception of it may let us probe deeper into subtle inner reactions:

> "Do you love me, Walter?" she [Marjorie] suddenly asked. Walter turned his brown eyes for a moment from the reflected tie and looked into the image of her sad, intently gazing grey ones. He smiled. "But if only, he was thinking, "she would leave me in peace!" He pursed his lips and parted them again in the suggestion of a kiss. But Marjorie did not return his smile. Her eyes took on a tremulous brightness, and suddenly there were tears on her lashes....Through her closed eyelids the tears were welling out, drop by drop. Her face was trembling into the grimace of agony. (Huxley, Point Counterpoint, I)

(e) interactive realism, always a thoughtful depiction of the mechanism of conversation, mainly in face-to-face encounters, and its study offers an interesting socio-psychological angle of narration as we observe whether that mechanism reflects reality or seems rather improbable; the latter being often the case, since the flow of conversation is falsely smooth, its participants take turns in an orderly fashion not even showing feedback cues or turn-requesting signals.

(f) documentary realism (or historical realism) through nonverbal behaviors, finally, is a logical result of physical realism and another rich source of research material. Although the documentary-historical value of certain descriptions increases in direct proportion to the aging of the work, one can also search in today's production for the documentary elements whose value will increase through the years. On the other hand, we should regard this as one of the problems of translation (see 7.6 below), since the value of documentary realism is subject not just to time but to space as well, that is, to cultural differences, in which case the nonverbal descriptions in the narrative production of cultures other than our own would constitute an interesting topic for a comparative study.

A serious study of documentary realism would require a classification of the various types of descriptions found, according to the functions played by those activities (ritualistic and etiquette behaviors, occupational activities, general task-performing activities, activities conditioned by clothes, hairdo, furniture, etc.). The following quotations illustrate certain prescribed ritualistic and etiquette kinesic behaviors:

> [When El Cid and his men meet the King upon their return from exile] he fell to the ground on his hands and knees,/ the grass of the fields he took with his teeth / welling his eyes from the great happiness . . . (Poema del Cid, 3031, translation mine)

> Their daughters, who remembering the maternal injunction to make the best use of their youth, had already commenced incipient flirtations in the mislaying of scarves, putting on gloves, setting down cups, and so forth; slight matters apparently, but which may be turned to surprisingly good account by expert practitioners. (Dickens, Pickwick Papers, XXXV)

7.4. Communicative functions of the nonverbal repertoires

Apart from the two dimensions, space and time, what the average writer also gives us about his characters is: their

physical portrait and their psychological one, the latter through their own behaviors and thoughts, or straight from their creator, or both; their clothes, which so many disregard in spite of their communicative value; their linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic activities; and, subsuming some of those behaviors (and clothes as well), their cultural differentiating behaviors, but perhaps not so specified. But the author can do this in four different ways:

(a) by describing the behavior and explaining its meaning (signifier and signified), obviously the most traditional method:

> Now, although this question was put in the most careless tone imaginable, Mr. Job Trotter plainly showed by gestures, that he perceived his new friend's anxiety to draw forth an answer to [his question]. . . He emptied his glass, looked mysteriously at his companion, winked both of his small eyes, one after the other, and finally made a motion with his arm, as if he were working an imaginary pump-handle: thereby intimating that he [Mr. Trotter] considered himself as undergoing the process of being pumped, by Mr. Samuel Weller his master . . . he turned his glass upside down as a means of reminding his companion that he had nothing left wherewith to slake his thirst. Sam observed the hint and feeling the delicate manner in which it was conveyed, ordered the pewter vessel to be refilled, whereat the small eyes of the mulberry man glistened. (Dickens, Pickwick Papers, XVI)

(b) by describing the behavior without explaining its meaning (signifier, but not signified), as in the prescribed kinesic behaviors described in the Poema del Cid, meant for a contemporary audience familiar with their meanings; or in the following brief mention of the kinesic behavior of the cynical and cole-blooded man who is the seducer of his interlocutor's sister, and his mortal enemy:

> The other man [during a tense conversation] kept hitting the thyme plants with little strokes of his stick. (Cela, La familia de Pascual Duarte, III, translation mine)

(c) by explaining the meaning without describing the behavior (signified, but not signifier), which may or may not be fully understood, that is decoded, by the reader, at least as meant by the writer:

> "Bidlake? The man who...who painted the pictures?" Polly spoke hesitantly, in the tone of one who is conscious of a hole in her education and is afraid of making a ridiculous mistake. (Huxley, Point Counterpoint, IV)

(d) by providing a verbal expression always concurrent with the nonverbal one, which is important, but not referred to at all; as in the following very specific variant of the expression It goes in one ear and out the other, which does not mention ear because the concomitant gesture points at it:

> "Me? It goes in this way and out the other." (Sánchez Ferlosio, El Jarama, translation mine)

7.5. Technical functions of the nonverbal repertoires

Finally, but most important from the point of view of the craft of fiction, there is another interesting aspect of the communicative behaviors displayed by the narrative characters: the technical functions of those behaviors, whether represented or described. An author can resort to an array of psychobiological and culture-based characteristics with which to make a certain character that character and no other; but he must make a conscious selection of linguistic, paralinguistic, or kinesic features, for instance, which is to be developed throughout the story in a progressive and consistent way, just as we perceive people in real life. By doing this the following technical functions can be achieved:

(a) initial definition of the character, by means of an idiosyncratic linguistic, paralinguistic, or kinesic feature: a verbal expletive, or a personal choice of words, a particular tone of voice in certain situations, a gesture, a socially but individually conditioned way of greeting others,

or eating, etc., all of which should agree with what we may learn about the person later;

(b) progressive definition, by means of still new additional features made noticeable gradually, as in real life, and not hastily at the onset of the story: a feature adds to another feature previously observed, complements it, builds up the physical as well as the psychological or cultural portrait of a character, and assists the reader in the progressive total appreciation of the narration;

(c) subsequent identification, by means of a feature, or features, repeated for the first time, whose technical importance is that not only does it bring back that image he verbal expletive, the gesture, the peculiar tone of voice), but that it does it precisely at a point in the story when the author knows that the readers need to identify some characters, as they may begin to confuse them or to forget their external personalities; for this reason, this function and the next one, recurrent identification, are specially useful in saga series, in voluminous novels peopled by many characters, and in the panoramic type of novel, such as Dos Passos' Manhattan Transfer;

(d) recurrent identification, by means of an already familiar feature repeated as many times as necessary at varying intervals in the narration; the following are examples of some of these technical functions (which are also communicative) played by the implicit paralanguage and the explicit kinesics of Hardy's Arabella Donn in Jude the Obscure, which define her throughout the novel as Jude's sensuous part of his personality, in opposition to the fragile and physically inferior Sue Bridehead:

> she [Arabella] gave, without Jude perceiving it, an adroit little suck to the interior of each of her cheeks in succession, by which curious and original manoeuvre she brought as by magic upon its smooth and rotund face a perfect dimple, which she was able to retain there as long as she continued to smile [initial definition].

This production of dimples at will was a not unknown operation, which many attempted, but only a few succeeded in accomplishing. (I, vi)

by artificially producing in each cheek the dimple before alluded to, a curious accomplishment of which she was a mistress, effecting it by a momentary suction [subsequent identification]. (I, ix)

"O--how stupid this is! I thought my visitor was--your friend--your husband--Mrs. Fowley, as I suppose you call yourself?" said Arabella, flinging her head back to retain the dimple she had just taken the trouble to retain [recurrent identification]. (V, ii)

Arabella smiled grimly as she resumed her way, and practised dimple-making all along the road . . . [recurrent identification]. (VI, iv)

7.6. The nonverbal repertoires in the translated text

7.6.1. A serious and fascinating aspect of translation, although hardly acknowledged in the scholarly literature, is that of the problems encountered by the translator (whether a professional one who produces a text in the target language or the common reader who, inadvertently perhaps, tries to translate and interpret) when confronted with the nonverbal behaviors of the characters, not only the explicit ones, but those hidden beyond the words of the written text.

Since I plan to elaborate on this topic elsewhere with the appropriate documentation, I will simply outline here what in the chart is indicated by interlinguistic and intercultural translation, which can be a fourth stage beyond the basic recreation of the original character by a reader who is not a member of the author's (or the character's) culture.

Referring to foreign language students, diplomats, and serious travelers, I have often emphasized the need to seek not merely linguistic fluency but cultural fluency as well. This implies, among other things, an ability to understand and/or produce the nonverbal behaviors that must be displayed along with verbal language, and that are rooted in ethnic, geographical and socioeconomic factors. In the case of the

novel, it is important for the translator to acknowledge his responsibility as mediator between author and reader and, therefore, as the conveyor of the literary character; but the author himself who writes for an audience here and there, now and tomorrow, should perhaps be able to predict the fate of the nonverbal repertoires he grants his characters, for those repertoires may be conditioned by elements which vary through space (climate, race, clothes) and time (clothes, furniture, etiquette norms, moral values).

7.6.2. The concept of translation should not be applied only to the rendering of a text into another language, but also to the intellectual process I would call intracultural translation. A reader can appreciate his own language in a novel whose characters belong to a subculture which is not his subculture; but that does not mean that he is equipped to fully understand the explicit and implicit nonverbal behaviors (without counting the linguistic localisms) contained, for instance, in a regionalistic novel dealing with rural life and all its human and environmental elements, from paralanguage and kinesics through proxemic behavior to chronemic behavior, unexplained furniture arrangement, and local customs.

7.6.3. Even if we concentrate on explicit nonverbal communication as described in a foreign culture's literature, I would offer some tentative suggestions just to elicit scholarly interest as to:

(a) how the foreign reader decodes certain paralinguistic, kinesic and proxemic behaviors which do not correspond to the behaviors displayed in his own culture in similar situations;

(b) how often he misses certain important nuances of meaning attached to some nonverbal activities and whether or not these could be clarified by a translator's note when it might cause a gross misunderstanding;

(c) how to transcribe paralinguistic alternants for which there is an orthographic representation in the source

language but not in the target one (English "Tsk-tsk," "Whew!," "Hm," and "Uh-uh," for instance, are not written in Spanish); and

(d) how to internationalize the orthographic representation of some basic pancultural paralinguistic alternants.

A few more comments about nonverbal communication and translation could be made which would suggest the interrelationships of the elements mentioned so far. They would prove further how the subject of literary translation, particularly of the novel, is necessarily related to the study of nonverbal communication and communication in general; and that, as long as the nonverbal elements of human interaction are not studied in depth and the professional translator and the student of literature do not strive to deal with a written text in an exhaustive way, we will not understand fully what is involved in translation; in fact, what translation is all about.

EXPERIENCES AND FIELD-WORK PROJECTS

In the pages that follow I am suggesting a series of topics, corresponding to the different chapters, in the hope that they will generate the readers' interest towards their own sensitization to total multi-channel communication in daily life in which verbal language is but one system, and not always the most efficient one, among those developed by man.

I call experiences the sensitization periods to which we should be exposed or, rather, the habitual and purposeful observation of people and their conscious or unconscious communicative behaviors, not only as a means to enrich our receptivity and our knowledge of ourselves and others in the true and total communication situation, but as a preparation for conducting research in a systematic and scientific way, so needed in this interdisciplinary field.

Therefore, the so-called field-work projects (by which term I mean to emphasize once more the first-hand quality they should bear as a mark) duplicate more or less the topics suggested as experiences, while requiring more specific concentration and methodological rigor as research models.

Chapter 1: Culture and Communication

Experiences:

1. According to the definitions given in this chapter, culture can be detected around us, its many communicating elements identified as such, and one can feel himself as part of culture in the making, as displaying culture.

2. We can also detect the intercultural communication barriers by watching foreigners on TV and in foreign movies, or perhaps in our daily relationship with foreign students and professors. And by acknowledging those barriers, we might be able to be more conscious of the acculturation process through which foreigners must go in our country, or

ourselves when staying among members of another culture or, better yet, in another country.

3. Diachronically, culture can be experienced as an evolving series of systems by considering those learned habits which we may have seen appear, operate for a number of years and die away, while others seem to prevail.

4. One of the most fascinating aspects about culture is the systematic discovery of its patterned elements by differentiating separate culturemes, from an impressionistic bird's-eye view to very concrete cultural manifestations.

Field-work Projects:

1. "Intercultural communication and miscommunication." This project can be conducted by interviewing foreign friends, classmates or colleagues and finding out which instances of cultural miscommunication they seem to be aware of and which they are not (although we might detect them). A chronological account of one or more cases would contribute to the systematic study of this aspect of communication. The cultureme approach can be used for this purpose.

2. "Analyses of a Culture Through its Culturemes." The subject-matter of this series of projects can be the reader's own culture or a foreign one if he is sufficiently familiar with it. The purpose of these projects is to provide a rigorous framework for the study of verbal and nonverbal communication within a culture, or cross-culturally, progressing from an impressionistic view to a microanalysis of the different behaviors.

2a. Secondary culturemes: "The Home and How It Communicates," "Communicative Behavior at the Restaurant," "Behavior in Church," "Party Behavior," "Communicating Down the Small Town Street," "The Student Cafeteria."

2b. Tertiary culturemes: "Visual Behavior in the Campus," "Tactile Behavior Within the Family," "Contact Kinesics Between Boys and Girls."

2c. Cultural systems: "Tactile Behavior in America," "American and Canadian Kinesics."

2d. Subcultures: "Visual Communication in the West," "Kinesics in the South."

2e. Derived culturemes: "Kinesics in the American Middle-Class Home," "Table Manners at the Student Cafeteria."

Note: Although the discussion of culturemes belongs to the first chapter, the readers would find themselves better equipped to carry out the projects suggested above after reading the whole book.

Chapter 2: Total Body Communication and the Mechanism of Interaction

Experiences:

1. In order to become sensitized to the dichotomy Verbal-Nonverbal one should carefully observe (with a view to later research) oneself and others as they communicate, and decide how much is conveyed through verbal language and how much by other means, granting every bodily activity produced in interaction a possible meaning.

2. The specific differences between interaction, non-interaction, reduced interaction and environmental interaction, as observed in life with oneself and others.

3. Equally important is to observe the difference between the self-regulatory function of communicative behavior and the interactional one; and, from a semiotic point of view, the type of encoding and decoding to which the observed communicative activities are subject.

4. For the sake of orderliness, one must conceptualize those activities in terms of the various nonverbal categories and try to observe their hierarchization in terms of frequency of occurrence, the ones we share with other animal species, etc.

5. By watching a TV panel, a movie, a seminar discussion, or ourselves engaged in a conversation, we should become

thoroughly familiar with the mechanism of interaction, particularly as regards the turn rules in face-to-face encounters.

6. As indispensable as turn rules is feedback behavior, and we should be fully aware of other people's feedback as well as our own, and the roles it plays.

Field-work Projects:

1. "The Roles Played by the Various Bodily Activities" (in a particular situation: a party, the classroom, at a game, in courtship, at an interview, etc.)

2. "Interrelationships of Verbal and Nonverbal Activities at a Party." Besides the message-conveying potentials of each activity, close attention should be given to the Conditioning Background and, if present at the party, to intercultural encounters.

3. "The 'Full' Interaction Situation." A microanalysis of a two-person (dyadic) conversation, identifying all the emitting and receiving channels and their functions.

4. "The Reduced Interaction Situation." This situation can be analyzed in our transactions with deaf-mute, deaf, or blind people, as well as in a telephone conversation; but it can be elicited (if as a "pseudo-reduced" situation) by blindfolding ourselves, plugging our ears, etc.

5. "The Environmental Interaction Situation." The relationship between us and our natural or man-shaped environment merits a well organized project, for which either ourselves or other people can be the subjects.

6. "A Study of Nonverbal Categories." A cultural or cross-cultural inventory of emblems, illustrators, or any other category; emblematic behavior of different occupational groups (students, hospital staff, waiters, etc.); use of object-adaptors.

Chapter 3: The Basic Triple Structure of Human Communication and the Forms of Usage

Experiences:

1. Even without counting other nonverbal means of communication, paralanguage and kinesics share such an important part of our communicative output that anyone interested in man's communicative potentials should think of the basic triple structure as it happens and consider how much is conveyed through language, how much through paralanguage and how much through kinesics.

2. A short transcription of a stretch of speech should be put down on paper and then complemented with the concurrent paralinguistic and kinesic elements, not necessarily transcribed but simply described in as much detail as possible. Once familiar with paralinguistic and kinesic notation systems, one can attempt to do a triple transcription.

3. What is really "infrastandard"? Up to which point? Who uses what here is referred to as "infrastandard," and when? One could try to identify "standard," "extrastandard" and "infrastandard" in the communicative repertoires (language-paralanguage-kinesics) of others.

4. Appreciating the communicative and technical functions played by the paralinguistic and kinesic repertoires of the characters in a novel makes one more aware of the author's work, his ability or inability for differentiation, and the historical value of the nonverbal found in the classics.

Field-work Projects:

1. "Transcription-Description of a Slice of Interaction." This can be done after becoming familiar with the different notation systems. The ideal source is a sound movie, as it can be run as many times as necessary; this lacking, one can use a silent home movie and try to match its kinesic behavior with the words and paralanguage that the people "seem to be

using." A tape is, of course, the poorest source for this type of work. Real-life situations should be tackled.

2. "Standard, Extrastandard and Infrastandard Among _____." One can choose for this project a middle-class home, a family of farmers, a homogenous group of students, etc.

3. "Paralinguistics and Kinesics of the Fictional Character." The paralinguistic and kinesic features of a whole novel can be classified by characters and then compared, or a single character can be the subject of the project. One should comment on communicative and technical functions, and perhaps compare authors and tendencies.

Chapter 4: Paralanguage: Vocal-Nonverbal Communication Experiences:

1. Getting to know and identify paralinguistic features can be best achieved by thinking about them as they happen, but in an orderly way, that is, concentrating on a given category for some time, until one can detect it easily, then on another one, and so on. As we do this we must associate each feature with a specific semantic-interactive function, until we can speak of certain patterns with certain accuracy.

2. Being already familiar with the various nonverbal categories, we will find it useful to be able to recognize affect-displays, regulators, illustrators, and emblems within paralanguage, particularly among alternants.

3. Alternants are specially interesting to observe while watching a TV panel, a political debate, a comedian, etc., or simply friends and relatives, whose repertoires can become quite easy to describe. As with any paralinguistic category, it is necessary to relate alternants to language, kinesics, and proxemics for a deeper understanding of man's multi-channel communication output.

Field-Work Projects:

1. "Paralanguage and the Situational Context." There are settings and situations which, according to a series of conditioning factors, seem to elicit specific changes in our communicative repertoires. There is a way of speaking and moving, mainly, which we associate with: "A Party," "A Wild Party," "Interviewing and Being Interviewed For a Job," "The Funeral," "The Locker Room Before and After," etc.

2. "Paralanguage and Socioeconomic Status." This can be observed better if we choose the more clear-cut levels, such as those of laborers or the upper-class refined.

3. "Masculine and Feminine Paralanguage." Once we start working on paralanguage, we can distinguish quite a few more features normally displayed by men or women beyond those generally accepted as either masculine or feminine.

4. "Types of Laughter and the Conditioning Background." Laughter is a fascinating subject, never studied in depth, which can be analyzed from a number of angles. Besides attempting a morphological classification of laughter in general, it is possible to concentrate on specific conditioning factors: sex, personality, age, socioeconomic status, situational context, etc. The correlation paralanguage-kinesics must be acknowledged at all times.

5. "So-and-So's Paralinguistic Repertoire." It is not difficult to become familiar with and analyze the repertoire of someone we see all the time.

6. "A Linguistic-Paralinguistic Transcription." This work is subject, of course, to the incomplete notation system developed so far, but the researcher should try to produce sensible symbols as he needs them.

Chapter 5: Kinesics: Communication Through Gestures Manners and Postures

Experiences:

1. One needs to become sensitized to gestures, manners

and postures, be aware of their communicative values, and of the fact that, as with language, some people possess a rich repertoire and others a poor one.

2. By looking at people, we can discern kinemes, kinemorphemes, and kinesyntactic constructions under a keen eye. Being able to break kinesic activity down into its different constituents is necessary for kinesic research.

3. Equally important is the differentiation of gestures, manners, and postures.

4. Reading some of the published gesture inventories and, at the same time, the norms and suggestions offered in my article on such inventories (Poyatos, 1974b) would be helpful for undertaking similar work without making the same mistakes and leaving the same gaps.

Field-Work Projects:

1. "Kinesics and Socioeconomic Status." Similar suggestions as for paralanguage above.

2. "Kinesics and the Situational Context." As above.

3. "So-and-So's Kinesic Repertoire." As above.

4. "Campus Kinesics." This project can cover various settings, besides the general style of college and university students.

5. "A Kinesic Inventory." Many subjects can be of great interest and, in fact, merit a research project: a kinesically-defined religious group, an age group, an occupational group, a foreign culture, first and second generation immigrants (separately and together), etc.

Chapter 6: Proxemics and Chronemics: Space and Time as Communication

Experiences:

1. One is rarely aware of his proxemic behavior, yet structures the space around from morning to night. Being conscious of it makes life more interesting on many occasions.

2. How the various distances can affect the production of other communicative outputs (voice, gestures, etc.) can be appreciated in ordinary interaction.

3. If traveling abroad, one should observe proxemic behavior with interest and compare it with the one displayed back home, and how and why the basic differences could result in intercultural clash.

4. Also while traveling abroad, it is not uncommon to find oneself thinking of time and handling time in a way that does not seem to be native to that particular culture.

5. How long certain encounters last (from a greeting to a formal interview) and why, by whom, and where, are things we should understand.

Field-Work Projects:

1. "One Day in the Life of a Space User." This project should describe in detail the proxemic situations encountered by a given individual in one day, in relation to architectural environment, open spaces, furniture, and, of course, the people with whom he or she interacted in the different places.

2. "The Escalating Proxemics of Courtship." The author of the project can interview friends, as informants, or perhaps use his or her own experiences as the subject of analysis. As in any other case, proxemic behavior should be related to the output and input of total body communication.

3. "Proxemics and the Situational Context." Similar suggestions as for kinesics above.

4. "Campus Kinesics." As above.

5. "Chronemic Behavior in _____." One's native country, or a foreign one, can be used as the subject-matter. What in this chapter I refer to as "conceptual time" and "social time" should be differentiated and analyzed in as much detail as possible.

6. "Social Time in America." This topic would include the duration of greetings and goodbyes, parties, meals attended

by guests, picnics, Sunday rides, interviews, formal and informal visits, etc.

7. "Style in Interactive Time." This project can deal with a culture's general interactive style or with interactive chronemic behavior as displayed by one person. In either case, chronemics should be related to, at least, language, paralanguage, kinesics, and proxemics.

The above experiences and field-work projects are just a few among the many that could be suggested, but they are offered only as examples of topics that could interest students of nonverbal communication from within different fields.

Chapter 7: Nonverbal Communication in Narrative Literature Projects:

Although I suppose one could conduct field work in order to analyze, for instance, the culture depicted in a novel, the documentary type of realism contained in it, etc., it will be more realistic at this point to suggest some of the many "home" research projects offered by this approach to narrative literature.

1. Analysis of a novel, in terms of the amount of represented or described nonverbal activities, the type of behaviors presented, and the functions they play in the story.

2. A study of the innovative trends in punctuation, type size, and other expressive devices resorted to by present-day novelists and cartoon authors, and how they try to represent nonverbal communication.

3. The semantic variants of identically represented paralinguistic alternants (e.g. "Ugh!") in different writers, or within the same work.

4. Impressionistic vs. realistic description of the characters' nonverbal repertoires.

5. The implicit, non-discussed nonverbal activities of the narrative characters and the problems they may pose in translation.

6. Analysis of the six types of nonverbal realism in one novel.

7. Individualizing and psychological nonverbal realism in a particular period, e.g. 19th century realism.

8. Documentary realism in the early epic narratives: a cross-cultural study.

9. The use of the communicative functions of the nonverbal repertoires in _____.

10. The technical functions of the nonverbal repertoires in _____.

11. Culture-specific nonverbal behaviors in a translated novel: a cross-cultural analysis of translation.

12. Cross-cultural orthographic rendering of similar and/or different paralinguistic features in the novel.

13. Intercultural orthographic rendering of paralinguistic features in translation.

The above suggestions are just a few among the many that could be offered in the growing and interdisciplinary field of nonverbal communication studies, but they are presented here only as examples of topics that could generate the interest of researchers at different levels and in several of the fields involved.

FOOTNOTES

[1]To follow better the occurrence of the various intercultural barriers and communicative modalities, the following abbreviations are used: K, kinesics; Lg, language; Pg, paralanguage; Rex, role expectations; Sor, social organization; OLg, object language; Pt, patterns of thought; Px, proxemics.

[2]Although, under normal circumstances, people and environment are perceived visually before they can be heard, I suggest reversing this order to analyze better the points at which the two categories overlap.

[3]For an interesting and exhaustive treatment of body sounds, cf. what Wescott (1966) calls "coenetics."

[4]The last three categories of nonverbal behaviors, to which I will add body-adaptors, are taken from Ekman and Friesen (1969), with some slight variations.

[5]Since this monograph is aimed mainly at people whose interests are centered around the user of the English language, I am utilizing throughout the book the terms speaker and listener, convinced as I am, however, that I would be acting quite misleadingly if I did not emphasize once in a while that performer and spectator, for instance, is more realistic; or speaker-actor, as I called him before (Poyatos, 1972a), still acknowledging the preponderance of language proper. In sum, the terms used here are good working terms, and they are used by all the students of interaction quoted in this book, but one expects eagerly that stage of their work in which they will consider more often the different nonverbal elements (not just eye and body movement) that play important roles in the mechanism of conversation, analyzed mostly in terms of "speaking" and "listening" turns, in many instances hardly acknowledging the interactive encounters of blind, deaf, and deafmute individuals among themselves as well as with unimpaired people.

[6]One could regard such a term as "unfilled" as utterly wrong--particularly after considering the type of interactive pauses dealt with in 2.8.5--since the term seems to apply only to the linguistic-paralinguistic stream. From the point of view of communication, of message conveyance, those pauses can be perfectly "filled" by kinesyntactic constructs, for instance, and by proxemic behaviors. The structuration of those behaviors with lexical language, as well as among themselves in "linguistic" silences, must be investigated, not only in relation to all other co-occurring activities, but to the entire biopsychological and socioeconomic (therefore cultural) context.

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